

THE
TAYLOR PAPERS
CONTAINING
THE
CORRESPONDENCE OF
HONORABLE HENRY TAYLOR
(1801-1858)



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Leonard Jones



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THE TAYLOR PAPERS



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THE TAYLOR PAPERS

BEING A RECORD OF :
CERTAIN REMINISCENCES, LETTERS, AND JOURNALS

IN THE LIFE OF

LIEUT.-GEN. SIR HERBERT TAYLOR
G.C.B., G.C.H.

MASTER OF ST. KATHARINE'S HOSPITAL
MILITARY SECRETARY TO H.R.H. THE DUKE OF YORK
ADJUTANT-GENERAL OF THE FORCES, 1828-30

WHO AT VARIOUS STAGES IN HIS CAREER
HAD ACTED AS PRIVATE SECRETARY TO
KING GEORGE III., TO QUEEN CHARLOTTE,
AND TO KING WILLIAM IV.

ARRANGED BY ERNEST TAYLOR

WITH PORTRAITS AND OTHER ILLUSTRATIONS

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INTRODUCTORY NOTE

WHEN the Rev. Edward Taylor, of Bifrons,¹ was staying in Rome with his family during the winter of 1791-2, he incidentally made the acquaintance of the first Lord Camelford. The acquaintance ripened into friendship. Camelford began to take a lively interest in Mr. Taylor's second son, Herbert—then a lad of sixteen—and is said to have been “greatly struck by the energy of his character, his intelligence, his quickness of observation and remarkably good memory, together with his attractive cheerfulness and gentleness of manners,”² and he shortly became instrumental in giving the first colouring to the boy's future career by securing him a clerkship in the Foreign Office with a recommendation to its chief.

Herbert Taylor yielded himself to this arrangement, but had he been allowed to follow the bent of his own mind he would certainly have chosen active military service for his profession.³ From his early boyhood this had been his desire. The events that subsequently led to his entering the Army, and his joy at being enabled to do so, he relates himself.

¹ An estate in East Kent which had for several generations belonged to the Taylor family.

² *United Service Journal*.

³ Mr. Taylor, at this time, discouraged the idea of his son becoming a soldier, considering that either the law or the Civil Service would offer better opportunities as a career.

But it was in Rome that an opening in life was thought out and planned for him, and curiously enough it was in Rome—nearly fifty years later—that his life was closed.

Had Sir Herbert Taylor survived to complete his Memoirs he would probably have left a very curious and fascinating narrative ; and if the instructions to his executors had been less rigid, many valuable documents might have been preserved. This, however, was not to be—and in accordance with his final wishes, the bulk of his Official Memoranda was destroyed after his death.

Other papers and letters of interest were, however, put aside—and a selection of these, together with his reminiscences, are introduced in the following pages. They range from the close of the eighteenth century to 1838, many of them portraying, I think, to a considerable extent, the personality of the man who found himself constantly centred near the throne, and typifying certain social and military aspects of the period in which he played his part. The letters are placed—as far as conveniently possible—in chronological order, and an outline of his life is interwoven.

E. T.

LONDON, *Sept.*, 1912.

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FAMA CANDIDA ROSA DULCIOR

CHAPTER I

EARLY REMINISCENCES OF SIR HERBERT TAYLOR,¹ 1780-1792

Bifrons—Brussels—Heidelberg—The Farm at Carlsruhe—A Second Visit to the Continent—Verona—Bologna—Florence—Two Winters at Rome—Naples—Vevey—Return to England.

MY relatives and friends have frequently expressed a wish to me that I would, when at leisure, write my memoirs, not so much with a view to publication, but as a record of the transactions in which I have been engaged, or which have come under my knowledge and observation, and which would prove interesting to my family.

Others, again, have yet more frequently remarked that if ever I should write my memoirs and disclose all I knew they would be very curious; and both appeared desirous of knowing whether I had kept a journal or minutes which would enable me to execute the task; but I apprehend that those who have suggested the work may have respectively contemplated productions of a very different character—the first, namely, a simple historical narrative embodying the occurrences to which I was privy, with details and particulars not to be found in public documents or records; the latter, an account of political and court intrigues, scandal of various description with which they presume I must have become acquainted, and the exposure of persons and circumstances which, in their view, would give to any record an interest far surpassing the merely historical elucidation of events.

I have the satisfaction to say that I have the means of realizing the wishes of the first, but that, although I may possess the means, I have not the inclination to meet the expectations of the latter.

As executor to the late Duke of York, I have become possessed of the whole of H.R.H.'s private correspondence which had been carefully preserved from the earliest period; and as an executor to his late Majesty William IV., I am in possession of all his official and private correspondence during his reign. Much of it indeed was carried on by me under his authority,

¹ The Reminiscences contained in the first three chapters were written in 1838.

and I have copious memoranda of very interesting transactions and personal communications during those eventful seven years. I also kept minutes, though not a regular journal, during the period of my attendance upon King George III., and I have materials of various interest relating to transactions and communications during intervening periods when official situations and access to the Royal Family and persons in authority opened sources of information.

But, although I have now the leisure, my absence from England deprives me of the means of reference to these various documents. They are, indeed, very voluminous, and were I in England, my first object and care would be a close examination of the Duke of York's papers, etc., and a portion of my own, with a view to cull them, and to destroy all that might commit or injure many of those concerned. I have, indeed, provided against the eventual retention of any that could have that effect.¹

All I can do at present is to write from memory (and happily mine is very retentive) an account of my own life and proceedings which may serve as a basis for a more interesting record which would embrace minutes, documents, and correspondence which would constitute its chief value.

Much that concerns myself would of course be excluded or rejected if ever those who follow should be tempted, or consider themselves justified, in giving the record to the public (not, however, before the death of her present Majesty Queen Victoria). . . . It must, indeed, be obvious that, writing from memory, I cannot venture to enter into other matter than that in which I was immediately and personally concerned. The rest may follow if years and leisure be granted to me, and as before said, all that is personal may then be cast aside as superfluous.

My father, the Rev. Edward Taylor, succeeded to the family estate of Bifrons, near Canterbury, on the death of his elder brother, my grandfather having equally come into possession of it on the death of his elder brother, Dr. Brook Taylor.²

My father was incumbent of the livings of Patricbourne and Bridge, appendages to the estate. His income, though not large, was respectable, and his pursuits, which were literary and agricultural, had at no time produced expensive habits. He married the daughter of Mr. Payler, of Ileden, in Kent, and

¹ By his orders these—together with many other papers—were destroyed by his executors, his death in Rome, 1839, having prevented any opportunity for sorting them.

² Dr. Brook Taylor, LL.D., the mathematician, Secretary of the Royal Society in 1715, inventor of the theorem that bears his name.

had by her eight children, five sons and three daughters, seven of whom were born at Bifrons, and the youngest at Brussels. I was the second son, and born on the 29th September, 1775.

In 1780 my father was induced by economical views, ^{1780.} and yet more by the desire for promoting the education of his ^{Brussels.} children, to remove to the Continent, and he proceeded with his family to Brussels, where he passed two years.

At that period General Ferraris was the Governor who commanded the garrison; his house was near that which we inhabited, and I perfectly remember the sentry placed at his door.¹ Lord Torrington was the British Minister at Brussels, and I went with others of the family to see the Duke of York, who came to his house on his way to or from Hanover. An attempt was made by my father to send my brother and me to a day school at Brussels, but our pockets being picked by our school-fellows, the visit was not repeated.

I have little recollection of my mother, except being once taken to see her when she was ill in bed.²

From Brussels we went to Heidelberg, where we passed a ^{1782.} year. We occupied part of the house with Major von B—— ^{Heidel-} of the Elector Palatine Dragoons. His wife was an odd person ^{berg.} passionately fond of pigeons, which were to be found in every corner of her apartment.

We had at Brussels and Heidelberg made some progress in the French and German languages, the advantage of which we reaped on our removal to Carlsruhe, where we passed five years. We inhabited a house in the Cerele, which looked towards the Margrave's palace, and on the intervening gardens.

The then reigning Margrave of Baden-Baden was a very ^{1783-8.} courteous and popular Prince. He had been in England, ^{Carlsruhe.} understood the English language perfectly and spoke it fluently. He patronized literature, art, and science as far as local circumstances and his means admitted. His eldest son, the hereditary Prince, had married a Princess of Darmstadt, a most delightful woman, and they had several children, the four eldest of whom were about the ages of my two eldest sisters, and formed an acquaintance with them which was kept up by correspondence till nearly the close of their lives. . . . The two eldest of the four were twins, and the youngest of these married the electoral Prince, afterwards King of Bavaria, and is still living as Queen Dowager. The next, Princess Louise, married the Emperor Alexander of Russia. The fourth, Frederica, married the King of Sweden, and the fifth, Princess Marie, much younger, married the hereditary Prince of Brunswick.

¹ In 1793 I became acquainted with the same General, then Field Marshal Ferraris, at the siege of Valenciennes, when he commanded the Austrian troops, forming part of the besieging corps under the Duke of York's orders. He was then advanced in years and much broken.—H. T.

² She died in Brussels at this time.

Rissing
Farm.

From every member of this family my father and his children experienced, during their stay at Carlsruhe, the greatest kindness and attention. The place offered resources of various kinds, and especially of masters well suited to the objects which had been sought by my father in the selection of this residence. I have already stated that his attention had been much given to agriculture, and he had, indeed, the reputation of being an excellent farmer. The pursuits of the Margrave were, more or less, agricultural, and he readily agreed to let to my father one of his farms called Rissing, distant between three and four miles from Carlsruhe, consisting of between seven and eight hundred acres. This arrangement promoted health and occupation, and proved very satisfactory to the Margrave from the improved system of tillage, English implements, etc. The farm was, indeed, very much out of order during the first period, but the improvement which eventually took place secured my father from loss.

He was so fortunate as to find on this spot an intelligent bailiff who had served in America, spoke English, and was not wedded to the prejudices of the country. My father stall-fed oxen to a large amount, and had much increased the growth of the wheat on this farm. In order to find markets, he was obliged to send the first to Paris and the latter to Basle.

Masters were cheap, and adverting to our age, sufficiently good. My father had always been, and continued, very fond of music. He caused us all, except my youngest brother, to be taught some instrument. My brothers played on the violin and tenor. My instrument was the bass; and before we left Carlsruhe we played quartettes very tolerably. My master had been an Adjutant in the Würtemberg Hussars and was a precious rough hand.

My father had brought from England a servant who had lived with him from his youth, an honest faithful creature who, however, exercised the privilege which long service is apt to confer, and the intercourse between Richard Simmons and my sister's Swiss governess was not always most harmonious. The rest of our establishment was German.

Of the English travellers who occasionally visited the place, those whom I particularly recollect were the Lord Chancellor Thurlow, the late Lord and Lady Hertford, with the present Lord, then a red-headed boy,¹ and the present Lord George Seymour, whose long nose and wide coiffure made a deep impression; also Mr. Charles Long (since Lord Farnborough), whose kindness and friendship I experienced to the close of his existence.

I have entered into these particulars about Carlsruhe as

¹ As Lord Yarmouth he is mentioned later on in the campaign of 1813-14.



MARGARET (PAYLER),
WIFE OF THE REV. EDWARD TAYLOR.

From a pastel by Francis Cotes, R.A.

Mr. Cootts and his wife and daughter passed through, but we did not make their acquaintance. We were afterwards amused with the accounts of Mrs. Cootts. One of the stories told of her was that being asked her opinion of the amphitheatre of Rome, she replied that when finished and whitewashed it would be a *very* pretty building.

Among those who stayed longer, and generally passed their evenings at our home, were Mr. North and the Bishop of Derry, a very extraordinary man, who was half mad, very clever, generally overbearing and agreeable or disagreeable as the wind blew. He travelled in general on horseback. His manner was often the subject of animadversion, and he had strange fancies.

On one occasion he found the Cardinal Legate distributing baiocchi to the poor. He immediately sent for a bag of paoli and distributed them, telling the people that he would show them the difference between a Roman Cardinal and an English Bishop. He took a great fancy to us, but unfortunately our worthy friend, Padre Scandellari, became the peculiar object of his dislike, which he was at so little pains to disguise that the Padre was obliged to keep out of his way; . . . but the Bishop was good-natured to my brothers and me, and when he left Bologna lent two of us his horses to accompany him on the first stage to Florence. I remember his servant, on that occasion, cautioning us to be sure to call him "*My Lord.*"

Part of our stay at Bologna was rendered painfully anxious by the dangerous illness of my two youngest sisters, the state of Margaret being very critical, so much so as to cause my father (in the hourly expectation of her death) to inquire where

society here. These ladies speak French and German like natives, and before they leave Italy they will do the same with Italian; they paint agreeably and have considerable musical talent. Thus accomplishments will not be wanted to second the graces they owe to the munificence of Nature.

"I had some information from Miss Taylor to-night relative to the expenses of housekeeping, which will give an idea of the cheapness of Italy, presuming that the paolo is sixpence, and that there are ten baiocchi in it. As to beef and mutton, bread, etc., they are all over Europe too nearly on a par to demand much attention; where meat is very fine it is nominally dear, and where it is bad it is called cheap, but the difference deserves little notice. Mr. Taylor contracts with a 'traiteur' for his table—nine in the parlour, and five in the kitchen, twenty paoli a day for dinner; for supper he pays extra, and is supplied to his satisfaction—the proof, if any is wanted, of the cheapness of Bologna. It is remarkable that there is not the difference between the prices of any of the articles and the same thing in England, that there is between the contracting prices and the rates with us—a few per cent. in the former, but some hundred per cent. in the latter; a sure proof that dearness and cheapness of living does not depend on the prices per pound, but on the modes of living. . . ."

3. "In the evening again at Mr. Taylor's house, in which no one will have the entrée and want the inclination."

she might be buried. The objection to allow her remains to be deposited in any garden or private ground was general, and was so brutally expressed by some as to disgust us with the place. Padre Scandellari tried hard to remove it, but in vain. The general prejudice against "heretics" prevailed with many who were our daily visitors.

During our stay my father's portrait was engraved by Rosaspina, then a very young man.

We proceeded to Florence, where we passed the summer, 1790, about four months. We had apartments for a week or ten days at one of the principal inns on the Arno, from which we removed to a house in the suburbs towards the Poggio Imperiale, where we were airily, though certainly not magnificently, lodged. We had masters of Italian and music, and my father resumed his instruction of Latin. At the hotel we found the old Duke of Argyll and family. Lady Charlotte Campbell,¹ then about thirteen years of age, was strikingly beautiful and full of life and animation. Their stay was short, but Florence was otherwise much resorted to by English of all ranks, and some few, though very few, were fixtures; among these, Mr. and Lady Elizabeth Monk, Mr. and Lady Anne Hatton—both lovely women. Lord Hervey was the Minister, and very attentive to Lady Elizabeth Monk. Among those who passed a great part of the summer at Florence were Sir Phillip Gibbs and his two daughters, Sir John Macpherson and his secretary, Mr. Macaulay (who were called "the gentle giant and his pocket pistol"), Lord Newborough, who had married a young Italian singer, Sir Corbet Corbet, Sir Francis Burdett, and many others whom I do not recollect.²

The opera was tolerable, but there was little, if any, Italian society. The Cascine were the great lounge and chief rendezvous of the English, and Sir John Macpherson gave social entertainments there. We also had cricket matches on the Prato, in which Sir Francis Burdett took a very active part. I need not add that visits to the gallery and the Pitti Palace and other collections, churches, etc., added much to the interest of our *séjour* at Florence. The inhabitants in general were civil and well disposed towards the English.

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Mr. Cootts and his wife and daughter passed through, but we did not make their acquaintance. We were afterwards amused with the accounts of Mrs. Cootts. One of the stories told of her was that being asked her opinion of the amphitheatre of Rome, she replied that when finished and whitewashed it would be a *very* pretty building.

Among those who stayed longer, and generally passed their evenings at our home, were Mr. North and the Bishop of Derry, a very extraordinary man, who was half mad, very clever, generally overbearing and agreeable or disagreeable as the wind blew. He travelled in general on horseback. His manner was often the subject of animadversion, and he had strange fancies.

On one occasion he found the Cardinal Legate distributing baiocchi to the poor. He immediately sent for a bag of paoli and distributed them, telling the people that he would show them the difference between a Roman Cardinal and an English Bishop. He took a great fancy to us, but unfortunately our worthy friend, Padre Scandellari, became the peculiar object of his dislike, which he was at so little pains to disguise that the Padre was obliged to keep out of his way; . . . but the Bishop was good-natured to my brothers and me, and when he left Bologna lent two of us his horses to accompany him on the first stage to Florence. I remember his servant, on that occasion, cautioning us to be sure to call him "*My Lord.*"

Part of our stay at Bologna was rendered painfully anxious by the dangerous illness of my two youngest sisters, the state of Margaret being very critical, so much so as to cause my father (in the hourly expectation of her death) to inquire where

society here. These ladies speak French and German like natives, and before they leave Italy they will do the same with Italian; they paint agreeably and have considerable musical talent. Thus accomplishments will not be wanted to second the graces they owe to the munificence of Nature.

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by Orvieto, Todi, etc., travelling by vetturino, which is the cheapest, and, for a large family without a courier, the most convenient, but slow, subject occasionally to bad accommodation, and not agreeable.

At Rome my father had taken part of a house in an airy part of the Strada del Popolo, another floor of which was occupied by M. and Madame de Roquefeuille, respectable French emigrants. He had been last Colonel of the regiment of Médoc, and was a Provençal.

The Evêque Abt, a very gentlemanly little man, was a great friend of the Roquefeilles, and a frequent visitor to us. We remained in Rome the whole winter, and until about the middle of April, when we went to Naples and passed the succeeding winter of 1791 also at Rome. During these thirteen months we had full opportunities of visiting the monuments of ancient Rome and its environs, etc. We witnessed the gaieties of the Carnival and the ceremonies of the Holy Week, and pursued our studies of various description to which was added that of the Spanish language, in which we were instructed by an ex-Jesuit. I learnt enough to be able to read it fluently, and found it very useful when I was private secretary to George III.

My brothers and I occasionally drew from Raffaele's frescoes at the Vatican, but with the exception of William, who had great talent, our progress was not equal to that of my two elder sisters.

They were also excellent musicians, had good voices and sang beautifully together. Wherever they went they had the best masters. Margaret was much younger, and her health never recovered from the effects of her severe illness at Bologna.

My fancy for historical and military reading continued, and although fond of exercise, of seeing sights and perhaps of mischief, I was not otherwise idle.

The English visitors to Rome during these two winters, 1790-1791, were numerous.¹ . . . With most of them we became well acquainted, and with some we contracted intimacies and friendships which were renewed in England, and uninterruptedly maintained. Many frequently passed their evenings at my father's house, when we were disengaged and had music. It was also much resorted to by some French emigrants who were at Rome, viz. the Prince and Princess of Monaco,² the

¹ The writer here gives a long and somewhat descriptive list of the English visitors, many of them well-known and distinguished people at that time, or who became so afterwards.

² The Princessé de Monaco afterwards ventured to return to Paris during the Republic, and was guillotined.—H. T.

Marquis de Duras,¹ the Abbé Maury,² and also by various artists including Fairbairn, Flaxman, Serres,³ and Canova,⁴ also Madame de Brun.

We often passed the evenings at Lord Clifford's, who resided in the Piazza di Spagna. His wife became and continued one of my sister's most intimate friends. I also should have mentioned Lord and Lady Malmesbury and Mr. Ellis, also Sir Godfrey and Lady Webster (afterwards Lady Holland). He was sometimes known as "Sir Wedfrey Gobster." Her Ladyship paid a visit in September, 1793, to the Duke of York's headquarters, near Dunkirk, and another in 1794, when they were near Antwerp. I became well acquainted with her, as Lady Holland, in 1830.

Of native society there was little, and the only Roman we dined with once or twice was the Senator Rezzonico, at the Capitol.

He was a very well-informed man, and had passed some time in England; his wife—a thorough Italian and very prejudiced—who, while she took a fancy to my sisters, lamented that they were heretics and could not be saved. The Princess Santa Croce, wife of the Spanish Ambassador, had assemblies frequently and occasional balls and dinners. Her house was open to the English, as was also, for a time, that of the Cardinal de Bernis, who had been the French Ambassador, but as far as I recollect, his means failed the second year.⁵

Of the Roman ladies, few appeared to have much, if any, education, or the habits of general society, and they showed little inclination to associate with English or French. The Princess Giustiniani, Duchess of Corbara and her sister, were the beauties of Rome. Mr. Jenkins was the banker. It was said that he had made a fortune chiefly by buying antiques cheap and selling them dear.

Among those whose kindness and attention we experienced were Lord and Lady Camelford, and Miss Pitt, who, being about the age of my elder sisters, was much with them. Lady

¹ The Marquis de Duras sang well, and took a third in trios with my sisters. He returned to France and took a very gallant part in the Marquis de Bouillé's attempt to save Louis XVI. I met him once in London in 1797.—H. T.

² The Abbé Maury had made a figure in the early part of the French Revolution, and narrowly escaped the guillotine. A very able man, became a Cardinal.—H. T.

³ Serres married "Olivia" the *soi-disant* Princess of Cumberland, and I met him at a trial in the Inns of Court, at which I was subpoenaed by her in 1823.—H. T.

⁴ Canova was very fond of music, and frequently came to our house. He came to Windsor about the year 1814, and I presented him to Queen Charlotte.—H. T.

⁵ The Cardinal de Bernis refused to acknowledge the French Republic, consequently he lost his Embassy and his salary, which had been a large one.

Camelford was a kind, good-hearted old lady, and both she and Lord Camelford became very attached to my father and indeed to us all. Nothing could exceed the kindness of his disposition and manner. I remember his telling me that his friend the late Lord Chatham's definition of civility was "attentive good nature," and in no person was it ever more fully exemplified than in Lord Camelford. I took a great fancy to him, and became rather a favourite of his; nor did he forget me when he returned to England, for upon his daughter marrying Lord Grenville, then Foreign Secretary of State, he procured for me a clerkship in his office.

With Lord and Lady Malden we also became intimately acquainted. He was a good player on the violoncello, and this brought him and me more together. His reception of me at the end of 1795 when I returned from service abroad was very cordial, and in 1796 I was his second in the duel with the Duke of Norfolk.

We had matches of prison bars¹ and cricket in the Villa Borghese, in which my brothers and I took a very active part. In the former the English and Irish were pitted against all other nations, and we were more than a match for them, although we gave them one or two. The assemblage of spectators on these occasions, foreigners and natives, was very great; the Poles were quarrelsome, and had nearly disturbed the harmony of the players. They had greatly cried up M. de Chateaufneuf, a Swiss who was indeed an excellent runner, but he was fairly beat in a trial of speed and wind by Mr. Talbot,² the best runner I ever met with.

In the cricket matches we were not joined by many foreigners, but Prince Borghese had constructed a circus where he wanted us to run and play. The ground, however, had been newly broken up, and was too steep. We had a licence under his hand and seal allowing "Gli Signori Esibitori del Nobile Giuoco di Cricchetto" to play in his grounds.

During our residence in Rome the "Aquilon" frigate, in which my brother Bridges was a midshipman, came to Leghorn or Naples, and he obtained leave from his captain (Stopford) to pass a few weeks with us, and we were not a little pleased to show him the *lions*. He had broken his arm by a fall from the mast-head, and his escape from further injury was owing to his falling on a bundle of hay which had been laid on the deck for the goats.

I have little more to say of Rome (not thinking it necessary to notice objects better described by others), except that to the end of my days I shall look back with the greatest interest and satisfaction to the two winters passed there in early youth. I

¹ The original name for Prisoner's Base.

² Afterwards Dean of Exeter.—H. T.

have always considered them as spent usefully and profitably in all respects, and that, young as I then was, I laid the foundation of friendships which became and continued very valuable at various periods of my subsequent career.

I have already stated that we passed the intermediate summer at Naples and its neighbourhood. We went there towards the end of April, 1791, and remained several weeks at Naples at the Crocetti Hotel. We associated much with Sir James Douglas, the British Consul, and his daughters. No day passed without some interesting occupation, and the society was agreeable, though of a more mixed character than at Rome. Mr. Ireland kindly read Latin with us occasionally here and at Vietri, where he came for a short time with Lady Rolle. When the weather admitted, we played cricket at Baia.

We went from Naples to Vietri (in the bay of Salerno), where we continued three or four months. The situation is beautiful, as are the walks and the roads to Salerno and Amalfi. There was no society, excepting that we received occasional though infrequent visits from some of our English friends on their way to Amalfi, Salerno, and Pæstum. But we wanted neither resources nor occupation.

During our stay we made an excursion to Pæstum which was well repaid by the inspection of the beautiful ruins, but was not otherwise agreeable.

We were accompanied by a Vietri friend, who had wisely hired for us a large open boat of Amalfi, manned by twelve "fratelli," the bravos of the place and district. We started in fine weather and proceeded merrily for some time, but it came on to blow, and towards the evening our crew were obliged to run the boat on shore, on an uninhabited part of the coast; here we found no other shelter from rain and wind than a miserable and untenanted fisherman's hut. Our boatmen showed great uneasiness in remaining there, which we ascertained to proceed from their having shortly before had an affray with some fishermen on that very spot, in which they had killed one or more. When the storm somewhat abated they took to their boat, but we declined to proceed any further by water, and towards morning quitted our unattractive abode and found our way to Pæstum, whence we returned in bullock-carts.

Our ladies showed good nerve, and the only person much alarmed was Mr. Ferri, our drawing master, who made us laugh by lamenting, "O Dio Mio! Ho perduto la mia carnagione."

On our return from Vietri to Naples the two postillions of one of the carriages quarrelled, and one of them attempted to stab the other, but luckily his knife was blunt, and the

other having escaped, took up a stone to defend himself. They were pacified, and we reached Naples without any further outbreak. They came together for their "Buona Mano" on the following day, and said that they had made up their quarrel.

Neapolitans, indeed, do not carry on the grudge, as do the Romans, although assassinations, the immediate effect of a quarrel, are frequent.

The Roman bears malice, meditates revenge, and will watch the opportunity of executing it months, even years, after. At Rome I witnessed more than one assassination in the streets, as well as the endeavours of the bystanders to screen rather than to apprehend the murderers. Churches are sanctuaries, and here they remain, and are fed by their friends until they can escape, or buy off justice, or the relatives of the murdered can be induced to drop their projects of revenge. Even the porticos of churches are privileged places of refuge, as are the courts of ambassadors and other palaces.

This evil and abuse was greater in the Pope's States, generally, than any other, and next to these, in the Neapolitan and Venetian.

In Tuscany they were unknown, and this proves the effect of a good Government and a strict police.

I speak of nearly fifty years ago, and during the interval the regulations made by Napoleon introduced great checks to the evils, but I understood that in the greater part of the Roman states it has already broken out again, and that the administration and police are in all respects detestable. Tuscany maintains its good character, and the Austrian Government has corrected many evils in the old Venetian states, and has established better regulations.

The Government is unpopular¹ indeed in these and the Milanese states, but this appears to result from a national prejudice against the Germans from old recollections, perhaps also from a remnant of revolutionary feeling.

Buonaparte and his generals had squeezed and drained the Italians. They had robbed them of works of art to which they naturally attached great value; but later on they had been associated with his glory and triumphs. They had become nominally an independent kingdom. Eugène Beauharnais was very popular, and his name is still mentioned with affection and regret. The exactions were great, but public works and institutions, at once useful and showy, gratified the feelings of the mass and improved the appearance of town and country,

¹ The unpopularity of the Austrians, however, is very much confined to the higher classes. The peasantry in general appear satisfied, and speak with gratitude of the treatment they experience. Among other benefits which they prize is the establishment—at the charge of Government—of a free school in every parish. The taxes are not heavy and are easily paid.—H. T.

tending to the promotion of arts and science, of industry and commerce.¹

Our stay in Naples after leaving Vietri was short. We returned to Rome, where, as beforesaid, we passed a second winter.

We left Rome early in the spring of 1792 and proceeded through the Romagna to Bologna, where we stayed a few days to see our old acquaintances. Thence we went to Venice, where we passed a few days; on to Milan also for a few days, and visited the public buildings, churches, etc. The Duomo was then still in an unfinished state, and the galleries and other institutions were in a condition very inferior to that in which they have since been placed; but there was in Milan the appearance of wealth and luxury, and of extensive society. The Corso was on Sunday very brilliant.

From Milan we went to Turin, and thence across the Mont Cenis to Geneva, and by Lausanne to Vevey. At this period the Genevese and the frontier peasantry had caught the infection of the Revolution, and the streets and roads rang with the popular airs of the "Marseillaise," "Ça Ira," and the "Carmagnole," but it did not extend to the Pays de Vaud, or the Canton de Berne.

At Vevey and the neighbourhood we remained three months. We were lodged for a short time at an apothecary's in Vevey, and then hired a villa near it. We met one or two friends daily, and made joint excursions together. Mr. C. Blair was the only other Englishman, with the exception of the Duke of Sussex, then Prince Augustus, who was there a short time, and associated with us very freely. He had two Hanoverian Governors and a German doctor, a ridiculous man, who was the innocent cause of a serious affray with a Swiss peasant and his servants. Mr. Floyer rented the house of this peasant, and there was a small green before it with a stone pedestal in the middle of it. This doctor, a very ugly fellow, rather considered himself an Adonis, and in order to show off his figure, offered to stand on the pedestal in the attitudes of Venetian statues, and to allow us to pelt him from a certain distance. He soon tired of this, as we threw well; but in the meantime, the peasant and his son came up and very insolently required that we should quit the green. We resisted; blows followed, and a number of men who were at work in the

¹ The chief grievances under Buonaparte's rule were the military conscription and war contributions, as was the case with France during the latter period. But I have met with Italians of various classes who speak with pride of their service under L'Imperatore (Napoleon), and not many who were desirous of seeking it under Austria. Indeed, the pay is small and the advancement slow. Conscription still prevails and substitutes are at an enormous price—forty or fifty pounds or more.—H. T.

A battle
royal.

vineyards, joined the two peasants and a battle royal ensued, in which several on both sides were roughly handled, and we should have had the worst of it if Mr. Floyer had not fetched a pair of pistols. Mr. Blair and I were the most beaten about the body on our side, and two of the Swiss had broken heads.

The Duke of Sussex was anxious to take a part, but his German gentlemen held him fast, and the doctor kept out of the way. The result was an action brought by the Swiss peasants, but the Government of Berne gave it in our favour, for which we were probably indebted to the presence of Prince Augustus.

We passed our time pleasantly at Vevey, and had a little native society. The above was not the only specimen we had of Swiss brutality, for in a village in one of the German cantons where my father objected to the payment of a scandalous charge, the innkeeper snatched the hat from the head of one of my brothers, and upon my recovering it, raised the whole village against us.

We were, of course, obliged to pay; indeed there was no appeal, for the innkeeper was the Burgomaster.

On quitting Vevéy we went to Berne, thence by Zurich and Schaffhausen to Germany, without making any stay. At Zurich we saw Lavator, for whom my father had a letter. We found him a quiet unassuming man of simple manner and habits, of easy conversation, and free from pedantry. He spoke both French and German badly, that is to say, the Zurich dialect.

We stayed a day at Stuttgart, and thence went to Heidelberg and Carlsruhe. At Heidelberg we found our old friend Mr. Jammeson and his family, and I nearly broke my neck by running down the glacis of the old castle, and unable to stop, jumping into the hedge of a lane—the old ditch—to the great surprise of a loving couple which was walking in it.

At Carlsruhe we experienced a most cordial and friendly reception from the old Margrave, the hereditary Prince and their family, and I was particularly glad to see M. Tissot, my old French and Latin master.

The Margravine was dead, and the Margrave had contracted a morganic marriage with Mdlle. de Hochstadt, the mother of the present Grand Duke of Baden. The princesses were much improved in appearance, and the Princess Louise, afterwards Empress of Russia, was particularly handsome.

After Carlsruhe, we pursued our journey to England without stopping anywhere, and arrived safe and sound at Bifrons towards the end of the summer.



MARY ELIZABETH AND CHARLOTTE.

Daughters of the Rev. Edward Taylor, of Bifrons.

CHAPTER II

EARLY REMINISCENCES OF SIR HERBERT TAYLOR, 1792-1793

A Clerk in the Foreign Office—Sir James Murray's Mission at Frankfort—Life at Frankfort—The Combination against France.

VERY soon after our return to England my father took me to London to install me at the Foreign Office. We were received very kindly by Lord and Lady Grenville, and I was on the same day introduced to the two Under Secretaries of State, Mr. Burges and Mr. A., and was placed in the branch over which the former presided, to begin work in a few days after my father left London.

At this season the town was very empty, and at any rate my father's acquaintance was not numerous. He took me to an old friend and connection who lived in Newman Street, where we dined one day; to Mr. John Hallett, the brother of a very near neighbour in Kent, and we also dined at the Archbishop of Canterbury's, Dr. Moore, and with my friend Mr. Balfour, who was in London with his two sisters, and with whom we went to the play.

My father established me at a lodging in Bridge Street, Westminster, for which I paid a guinea a week (two good rooms) out of my allowance of £150 per annum, which he meant to continue until I should come on pay, the junior clerks not having then any salary.

I then found myself at seventeen, never having been a day separated from my family, living alone at a season when all with whom I had become acquainted abroad were absent from London, and having to make friends where I could. But I found a most kind one in Mr. Burges, whose friendly attentions and early protection I can never forget. He was the most indulgent official chief, and at once employed me confidentially, allowing me to be much in his room, and when disengaged he made his house my own. He was a man by no means wanting in talent and information, and a good classical scholar. Mr. A., his colleague, was a good-natured man, with abilities equal to little more than the routine of office. There was little union between them, and their business was distinct.

The hours of attendance at the office were from 11 to 5, and again from 8 to 11, but many were idle hours, though my

knowledge of foreign languages soon procured for me an ample share of the work, to which I had no objection; for at that period the Secretary of State corresponded in French, and an active correspondence was carrying on with Monsieur Chauvelin, etc.

First
attempt at
secretarial
work.

Mr. Goddard, Lord Grenville's private secretary, was absent on account of health, and his Lordship at once employed me in that capacity. It was a kindly act, and proved his determination to advance me, but it must have tried his patience, for I was wholly unfitted for the duty. I wrote a bad hand, and was utterly ignorant of all official forms, to the extent even of not knowing how to fold and address a letter or note.

The first letter I had to write was from his house in St. James's Square to the Archbishop of Canterbury, to put off an appointment, and I was so long about it that I saw his Grace at the door when I left the house with the note which I was to despatch from the office. However, Mr. Goddard returned in a few weeks and resumed his duties, in which Lord Grenville told him I might assist him if necessary. This brought me into frequent intercourse with Mr. Goddard,¹ whose pursuits were literary, and useful to me.

Upon one occasion, the conversation turned on future prospects, and I shocked Mr. Goddard by saying that I conceived all those engaged in any profession should look forward to the highest situation in it. He answered, "You do not mean that you ever expect to become a Secretary of State?" I replied that I granted it was very improbable, but that I should try, and that I considered it a fair object of ambition. He treated it as ridiculous, and yet he was one of those who afterwards observed that the office I held with King William IV. was equal in importance and interest to that of a Secretary of State.

Lord Grenville continued very kind, and asked me occasionally to dinner, as did also the Archbishop of Canterbury; and as beforesaid Mr. Burges's friendly attentions were very great. Beyond these not frequent occasions, the only resources of society was the house of Mr. John Hallett, a kind-hearted and hospitable man. I passed much of my time alone, as the evening attendance at the office was often dispensed with, and I then experienced the advantage of early habits of reading, and the resources of drawing and music. I also engaged a person to read Latin with me.

1792-3.

Frankfort.

Thus I went on, until towards the end of December (having in the interval passed a few days with my family

¹ Mr. Goddard, some years after, quitted office, and entered Holy Orders, and is now Archdeacon of Lincoln. He is an excellent scholar and a good preacher; an able though not popular member of society. I renewed my acquaintance with him between 1820 and 1830, and I am godfather to one of his sons.—H. T.

at Bifrons), when, after the discussions with M. Chauvelin, Sir James Murray was sent on a mission to the Prussian headquarters, then at Frankfort, relative to the intended combination against France, and also to remonstrate against the partition of Poland; and Lord Grenville appointed me his secretary for that mission.

Sir James had set out, and I received my orders in the morning to start the same evening. My preparations were easily made, and after dining with Mr. Tate, who had been in town a short time, I set out at midnight with Shaw, the messenger, embarked at Harwich, and went by Helvoet Sluys to the Hague, where I dined with Lord Auckland. We continued our journey in the evening, and travelled day and night to Frankfort.

I was very kindly received by Sir James Murray, a good-hearted, unaffected man, whose friendship I experienced to the day of his death. He was a man of excellent sense, quick parts, and cool judgment, a most gallant and active officer, as quiet and collected in action as he would be in his room, well informed, liberal, and much beloved by all who knew him well; but he was often absent and careless, and appeared so more than he really was, as his habits of business were not official or regular. He could write extremely well, but he often wrote his dispatches carelessly, and thus incurred a charge of incapacity which few less deserved, though it was encouraged by his want of success as a speaker in Parliament.

When I joined him, I found my place had been temporarily supplied by Mr. Abercromby (the eldest son of the General), who at once resigned his employment, although he continued in Frankfort even after Sir James Murray left it. As a secretary, indeed, he was not very efficient, for he had less official habits and wrote even a worse hand than I did; and he was a bad linguist.

Frankfort was the Prussian headquarters, and had (not long before our arrival) been retaken from the French by assault, in which the Hessians had much distinguished themselves. The Prussians had then advanced posts on the Maine and Rhine towards Mayence and Cassel, and closely invested the latter place, which surrendered while I was at Frankfort.

The King of Prussia was there with his two eldest sons (the present King and Prince Louis), the Duke of Brunswick, and other Generals, M. de Bischoffswerder,¹ the chief Minister, M. de Lucchesini,² the Foreign Secretary, etc., not to omit Madame de R——, His Majesty's mistress.

¹ M. de Bischoffswerder had almost paramount influence; but was more feared than respected.

² The Marquis de Lucchesini was a Florentine, and a very sharp, clever man, very civil, and had the character of being a consummate political

1793.

Sir James Murray had served the preceding campaign with the Prussian army in Champagne, etc., and was therefore *en pays de connaissance* at these headquarters, but his communications were chiefly with M. de Lucchesini, to whom he presented me, as he did to Baron de Kinkel, the Dutch Minister, an old Admiral and a very friendly, hospitable man who opened his house to me and continued his hospitality during the whole of my stay at Frankfort. He had recently married a very young lady, rather good-looking, but without much education, and not over-wise. She was sometimes too much for him, and he was jealous, though he affected not to be so. I became acquainted also with the Baron de Hardenberg¹ and his wife.

The garrison at Frankfort and the army occupying the surrounding cantonments consisted chiefly of Prussians, but with considerable additions of Austrians, Hessians, and, latterly, Saxons of all arms. I became acquainted with many of the officers, chiefly Prussians and Hessians, whom I met occasionally at the *table d'hôte* at the "White Swan."

I had at first put up at the "Red House," an immense hotel, a great part of which was occupied by the King of Prussia, his court and staff; but my old friend Fraentyl, whom I found at Frankfort, procured for me a lodging at a bookseller's, where, with the aid of a consumptive soldier of the Frankfort troop, who officiated as valet, I got on very well, and bought a clever Limousin hack, and showed off on horseback as well as on foot.

Sir James Murray's mission related, as beforesaid, to the combination against France, and the objection of our Government to the partition of Poland. Our accession to the first was easily arranged, but he failed in the second object. After some weeks he was recalled, with a view to personal report, and chiefly because it was intended that he should hold the situation of Adjutant-General to the corps which was to be placed under the command of the Duke of York, and he was to join the allied army in Brabant.

I was left as a sort of *chargé des affaires* and instructed to report events. My occupation was not very arduous. I went occasionally through the ceremony of waiting on M. de Lucchesini, and wrote to Mr. Burges all the news I could pick up, in which I was materially assisted by Baron Kinkel; but the harmony between the Dutch and Prussian courts was not then very great, and the Baron was an object of jealousy.

intrigant. He retired after the Prussian catastrophe at Jena, and went to Florence, where he died.—H. T.

¹ Baron de Hardenberg—afterwards the celebrated Prussian Minister. His wife ran away from him. He had, however, himself shown an example of running away with the wife of the Hanoverian Minister.—H. T.

I remember our going together to M. de Lucchesini, and, 1793. not finding him in, the Baron left a card, *les puissances maritimes*, whereby M. de Lucchesini took the first opportunity of telling me that he would prefer my calling alone. The first note he addressed to me was carried by mistake to Colonel Taylor, of the 5th Dragoon Guards, who happened to have come to Frankfort. He opened it *sans cérémonie*, and instead of sending it to me, answered it to M. de Lucchesini by saying he took advantage of the mistake to introduce himself, and to request he would present him to the King of Prussia. This he told me afterwards as a good joke. I thought it a very impudent one, but wisely concluded that I was too young a "Minister" to inspire much respect. Yet I enjoyed the advantage in other respects, as was remarked by an old French emigrant with whom I had become acquainted at the *table d'hôte*, and who was often my walking companion. I was fond of jumping, and had cleared a tolerably high hedge, when he exclaimed, "Ma foi! Je defie tout le corps diplomatique de faire cela." He was an agreeable old gentleman, whom I never met after leaving Frankfort.

I learnt afterwards that very few of my letters reached Mr. Burges, and I concluded that they had been intercepted at the post office, which of course was at the mercy of the Prussian authorities, especially as, not adverting to this, I wrote incautiously, and with too much of Baron Kinkel's tinge.

Among the visitors at Frankfort was Sir John Macpherson, at all times a busy politician. He *would* put me in communication with Padre M—— at Ratisbon, a precious political charlatan and humbug, who, however, afterwards contrived to obtain a handsome stipend from our Government. He favoured me with lots of letters on dirty affairs which I did not care about, and the only good he did me was to procure for me a good pair of pistols.

There was a good deal of society at Frankfort of a very mixed description, and my seventeen years, my knowledge of languages and music, my official employment, with a moderate share of impudence, gave me access to almost every circle.¹

But next to Baron Kinkel's, the house I chiefly frequented was that of Mr. Bethman, the banker. His son was a dandy, but well bred and clever. He afterwards became a great patron of the arts. There was also a good-looking daughter. All were very kind to me and admitted me to their parties. I was also kindly received at the house of Baron Vrintz, the deputy Postmaster General. I there became acquainted with Prince Louis

¹ I sported a blue coat with red cape and cuffs, gold epaulettes, and a Coldstream sword which Lord Templetown had given me. To the King of Prussia and others who asked me what uniform I wore, I boldly replied, "Que c'étoit l'uniforme de chasse du Roi." In fact, it was like the Windsor uniform, and my friend Abercromby and others had advised me to make it up.—H. T.

1793.

Ferdinand of Prussia, a very fine young man of superior abilities, but a determined roué.

I met the King and the two Princes of Prussia at one or two public balls, and at a private concert at Goyel's, and they were very civil. At one of the former I saw the Princess George of Mecklenburg who had come to Frankfort with her two grand-nieces, beautiful girls of sixteen and seventeen, and from the attention which the Prince Royal and Prince Louis paid I was not surprised at their being, not long after, married to them.

The eldest, afterwards Queen of Prussia, was the handsomest; the second appeared the most lively, and had then a beautiful figure.

Frankfort was the rendezvous of military men of all nations, and of not a few adventurers. Among the latter was an Italian who had the rank of captain, and wore the Austrian uniform. He took up his quarters at the "White Swan," and kept a Faro table at which Prussian, Hessian, and other officers lost their pay as fast as they received it.¹

He had with him a beautiful niece. I was very attentive to her, but resisted all the allurements of the gaming table. A young Hessian officer who was much smitten with the young lady, and had lost his money, chose to pick a quarrel with me and we were near fighting, but upon comparing notes agreed *que le jeu ne valoit pas la chandelle*, as the fair Helen had merely laughed at us both.

I often dined at Baron Kinkel's in trio. His wife was childish and fond of a romp, for which I was ready enough, although I did not admire her. The Baron, in general, took a pipe after dinner, and then fell asleep. One day the lady was pursuing me round the table, and throwing cushions at me. Passing her husband, she snatched one on which his head rested, and brought the latter with some violence in contact with the chair. He awoke in great anger, took her by the hand into the next room and locked her in; then sat down again, and began to puff away furiously, without saying a word to me. I thought the best thing I could do was to make my bow, which he silently returned. I kept away for a few days, but received a friendly note saying the prisoner was released, and would be glad to see me, but that the cushions must not be made balls of. This proved that, although jealous, he was not so of me; indeed, I expect the attentions of Prince Ferdinand gave him greater uneasiness.

There was a certain Lord X. who had quitted the Coldstream

¹ I, fortunately, never took to gambling, although frequently it was thrown in my way, and there was no one to check me. The billiard table alone had attractions, and being a bad player I occasionally lost small sums or had a bad score with the marker. At Oatlands, however, we sometimes played at chicken-hazard, but I never won or lost much.—H. T.

Guards and had come to Frankfort with a view of serving as a volunteer with the Prussian army, and had been attached to the regiment of Eben Hussars. But he had fallen desperately in love with Madame de Rietz (she was old enough to be his mother), who did not discourage his attentions. His young brother had some time before been sent to the Academy at Marburg, but, being ill-used by the master, joined Lord X. at Frankfort, where I saw them both frequently.

Not long afterwards, Madame de Rietz returned to Berlin, as the campaign was expected soon to open. Nothing would serve Lord X. but he must follow her, taking his brother with him. They planned what they considered a secret departure from my lodgings, the post horses being ordered to the neighbourhood, and I was to answer any inquiries, that Lord X. had taken his brother back to Marburg. They got off without any difficulty, and in the evening of the following day I met the King at Goyel's. I had been playing in a quartette, and after a few civil words on the subject, His Majesty asked abruptly where Lord X. was gone. I answered, as I had agreed, that I understood he had taken his brother to Marburg, on which he turned his back without saying another word.

The answer was a foolish one, as was the whole proceeding, for the King was, of course, *au fait* of all; and as a diplomat my share in it was unpardonable, besides the lie.

Among the visitors at Frankfort was the Margrave of Baden, to whom I paid my respects. I also met there Count Sombreuil,¹ Count Louis Walmoden,² and Baron Hompesch, then attached to the Eben Hussars, besides many others who became subsequently noted men, but I mention these three because I became well acquainted with them afterwards.

I had made the acquaintance at the *table d'hôte* of the Auditor of the regiment of Anspach Bayreuth Dragoons, and he invited me to his quarters at Höehst, and said that he would present me to his Colonel, Count Kalckreuth. I rode there accordingly, and he gave me a bed and a supper to which he had invited some officers of the regiment, and with whom I smoked.

On the following day he took me to Count Kalckreuth, who

¹ Count Sombreuil was a remarkably handsome man and as gallant a fellow as ever breathed. His father and mother had been guillotined by the Republicans, and he had escaped with difficulty. He came to the British headquarters in 1793, and soon after obtained the command of the corps raised by Prince Salm for our service. He served with credit on our lines of advance posts in 1794. He was in 1795 of the expedition to Quiberon, behaved with the greatest gallantry, but was taken and guillotined. His melancholy fate excited the deepest interest and regret in every quarter.—H. T.

² Count Walmoden had quitted the Hanoverian for the Prussian service. He afterwards entered the Austrian service with superior rank, then the Russian, and returned to the Austrian in which he actually holds the rank of Lieut.-General with the command in Milan. During the Continental peace I saw him in England, where he came under the name of Smith.—H. T.

1793.

invited me and the Auditor to dinner where I met about twenty officers of the staff. The Colonel was a man of superior talent and lively conversation, and his Adjutant-General, Colonel Voss, not less so, but he was very satirical. At dinner the Count did not spare the Duke of Brunswick and some others. He afterwards called me to his closet and began to pump me closely, which did not matter, as I had no secrets to let out, but he talked freely, abused the Duke of Brunswick without measure, and fully confirmed what I had before heard of jealousy and division in the higher ranks of the Prussian army. When I took my leave he told me that Colonel Voss would show me the advanced posts early on the following morning. I rode out accordingly with him, and went close to the line of French Videttes. He was very agreeable. I then returned to Frankfort with materials for dispatch to Mr. Burges.

I have dwelt upon occurrences at Frankfort, because, although it was not an important period, it was in many respects most amusing. I had no fixed salary, but on my return received £600, which largely covered my expenses.

In the mean time England had become an active party to the combination against France, and an expedition consisting of a brigade of guards and some regiments of the line had been fitted out, and placed under the command of the Duke of York, who landed at Dort in March.

Sir James Murray, being appointed Adjutant-General to this corps, wrote to me to say that he had applied to Lord Grenville to allow me to continue with him as secretary, to which his Lordship had kindly consented, and a letter from Mr. Burges confirmed this satisfactory arrangement, adding that I should continue on the establishment of the Foreign Office with a salary of £300. Sir James desired I would join him immediately at the British headquarters.

(The following letter to the Rev. Edward Taylor was found among my papers. I insert it conveniently here.—E. T.)

Whitehall. March 17th, 1793.

DEAR SIR,

I trouble you with a few lines in consequence of a conversation I have just had with Lord Grenville. You have already had some proof of the regard he has for your son, but you ought to have been present just now, to have heard the very kind and friendly manner in which he expressed himself concerning him. He has an idea of bringing him forward in a manner which I think must infallibly advance his fortunes even beyond any expectation you may have formed; but he hesitates upon determining absolutely upon the business till



THE REV. EDWARD TAYLOR, OF BIFRONS.

1734—1798.

From an oil painting.

he knows how far the object he has in view for him may corre- 1793.
spond with your wishes. Sir James Murray, with whom our young friend passed some time at Frankfort, returned a few days ago, and has since been appointed Adjutant-General to our armies abroad, and secretary to H.R.H. the Duke of York.

Your son, during his short acquaintance, contrived to make himself so agreeable to Sir James that he has expressed a strong wish to take him with him as his secretary. An appointment of this nature is so evidently advantageous as well as honourable to a young man that Lord Grenville would not have hesitated a moment in complying with Sir James Murray's request had he not heard from me that you felt an anxiety lest your son's spirit might lead him into dangers. After what you had said to me on this subject when I last had the pleasure of seeing you, I certainly did not think myself authorized to treat your feelings slightly, or to take upon myself to say that I knew you would agree to this arrangement. It was, therefore, determined that I should write to you upon the subject; that I should ask you whether you were inclined to allow your son to engage as Sir James's secretary; and that your determination should be considered as conclusive. I really think that your son's good sense and great attention to your advice, added to the constant care that Sir James would take of him, may make you perfectly secure as to any apprehensions you might entertain of his running into dangers. If so, the advantages of such an appointment are too great to admit of a question as to the expediency of accepting it. Were it the case of my own son, I would not hesitate a moment. As it is on all accounts necessary that Lord Grenville should immediately know your resolution upon this affair you will forgive me for pressing upon you for an answer by return of post. When we receive this, I will take care to let you know as soon as possible what further arrangements as to salary, etc., Lord Grenville may think proper to make.

I have the honour to remain,

Most sincerely, my dear Sir,

Your faithful and obedient servant,

J. B. BURGESS.

The Campaign of 1793.

Thus was my anxious wish to be employed militarily realized, and I did not despair of becoming professionally as well as practically a soldier.

Before I left Frankfort I received an offer from Lord Hervey, our Minister at Florence, to appoint me his secretary, and stating that he had written to Lord Grenville on the

subject. I thanked him and informed him of my previous appointment.

I took leave of my friends at Frankfort, sold my horse, and travelled day and night to Antwerp, where I found the British headquarters. I arrived there at night early in April, and put up at the "Laboureur," where the Duke of York had fixed his quarters. Early on the following morning I went to Sir James Murray, who presented me to the Duke of York. H.R.H. was very gracious, and asked me various questions about the Prussian army and the state of affairs at Frankfort. The conversation was interrupted by the arrival of the Prince of Coburg and other Austrian officers, who had come there to meet H.R.H.; and when I retired I found Colonel St. Leger, the deputy Adjutant-General, and Captain C. Crawford and Henry Clinton, aides-de-camp, who also questioned me.

On the evening of the following day Sir James Murray went to England and took me with him to London, where my father and sisters then were.¹

Sir James stayed a week or ten days, during which I equipped myself, bought two horses, and hired a servant, a little fellow who had been with us in Italy, and happened to be then disengaged. I also got leave to wear the uniform of the Kent Militia. My father cheerfully assisted in all this, and appeared delighted with the prospect that opened to me. Lord Grenville was kind as before, and Mr. Burges's attentions were most friendly.

The Duke
of York
at Bruges.

I returned with Sir James Murray to the Continent and found the Duke of York's headquarters established at Bruges, and the Brigade of Guards under General Lake and one of the line (14th, 37th, and 53rd) under Major-General Abercromby in that town; these, besides a few artillery, being the only part of H.R.H.'s corps yet assembled.

To Sir Ralph Abercromby I had a letter of introduction from his son, which obtained for me early the friendly notice of that worthy man and excellent officer. Sir James Murray introduced me to the staff officers, and those commanding the regiments; and also more particularly to many Scotch officers in the 3rd Guards, his especial friends—Colonel Ramsay, Lord Huntley, Captain Campbell, etc. On the first day I was invited to dinner by Colonel Symes commanding the 53rd, an old officer who died in the course of that year; and at their mess I became at once acquainted with the officers of that corps and some artillery. The latter were at that period distributed to battalions—two guns to each (light or short six pounders)—an arrangement which was changed after the first

¹ My eldest brother had, I think, gone to Merton College, Oxford, Brook and William to Naples, and Bridges was at sea with Captain Stopford in the "Aquilon."—H. T.

campaign, when brigades and half-brigades were formed and employed with corps as required.

Every part of our military establishment was, indeed, at that period on a very low, imperfect, and helpless footing.¹

The interval since the close of the American War had been less than ten years, yet during that short period everything had been neglected. There was no uniformity of regulations, of system, of exercise and drill, or even of regimental establishment; and notwithstanding the expectation of war produced by the French Revolution, no efficient steps had been taken for the completion of the regiments or the augmentation of the army. Crimps were indeed employed, and men were raised for rank in independent companies and otherwise. These were of a very inferior description, but did not suffice, and corps were drafted to make up others for service. Many of the best were, indeed, dispersed in the ships of war, and serving as Marines.

The
helpless
condition
of the
British
military
system
in 1793.

Most of the cavalry regiments had been let down in the same manner, and the four troops of 50 (which those ordered abroad furnished) were with difficulty completed, and sent in an efficient state.

The artillery were in better condition, the officers and men being well instructed, but the guns were too light to contend with the French calibre—short sizes and medium twelves—while the French long 4- and 8-pounders carried much further. Nor were they horsed from England; but we procured inferior horses on the Continent. There was no regular Drivers corps, and those hastily raised and sent out were called “the Newgate Blues.”

The ammunition waggons and others were of the most unwieldy pattern, most of the few we had required to be cast; others of better pattern to be provided. Other services had horse artillery, and the Duke of Richmond, then Master General of the Ordnance, did, shortly after, form some troops, but he kept them at home.

Our engineers were few, and the officers in very small proportion—no sappers and miners; no pontoniers. The Hanoverians had a train of pontoons which was brought up in the following campaign, and for the use of which we paid largely. Colonel Moncrieff was our chief engineer, an able and very gallant man (indeed, he exposed his person uselessly). He had distinguished himself in America. He spoke only English, or rather Scotch.

Zeal and gallantry were conspicuous on all occasions, but could not make up for all deficiencies. We were, in fact, “in

¹ I was very much struck and mortified by the contrast which in point of appearance, equipment, and exercise the 53rd (whose parade I attended at Bruges) offered to the troops I had left at Frankfort. Nothing, indeed, could be much worse.—H. T.

1793.

leading strings," and, except when opposed to the enemy in the field, the laughing stock of our allies. This remark applies more particularly to the staff arrangements and the outpost duties, of which at first we betrayed great ignorance.

Our deputy Quartermaster-General was Colonel Johnson of the 3rd Guards, a good-hearted but irritable little man, very vain, and very empty, who owed his appointment to his knowledge of the French and German languages and to the ready use of his pencil. Sir James Murray,¹ though able and active in the field, wanted the official habits and the method required for the duties of Adjutant-General.

His deputy, Colonel St. Leger, was quick and intelligent, but equally had not acquired official habits. Both, however, were popular with foreigners.

The Duke of York himself, although inexperienced, had more turn for business, and was more capable of directing arrangements in their various detail than most of those about him. H.R.H.'s private secretary was Colonel Hewgill,² who had been Adjutant to the Coldstream Guards, and who spoke and wrote German well, as did his aides-de-camp, Captains Crawford³ and Clinton, and John Murray, Sir James's half-brother, who joined him later. Captain Calvert⁴ also joined H.R.H. after he reached Courtray.

From most of these appointments it is obvious that the knowledge of foreign languages was a great desideratum, and I could cite a few other instances in which it led to staff employment; but it was not then so common as at present, nor had it been made so much a branch of English education.

To me, therefore, who (thanks to my excellent father's kind care) possessed it in rather an extraordinary degree, it proved of essential advantage; and to that, and to the circumstance of having commenced my career soon after the outbreak of the French Revolution, I have always considered that I was indebted for my fortunate progress in life.

Sir James Murray carried on the correspondence with the Government at home and other authorities.

There were several Austrian officers attached to the Duke of York's headquarters—Colonel Count Mereveldt being the chief. He was an officer of cavalry who had served with distinction

¹ Sir James Murray resigned the situation of Adjutant-General after the campaign of 1793, and was succeeded by Colonel Craig.—H. T.

² After Sir James Murray's departure the Duke of York took the correspondence into his own hands, and I became Colonel Hewgill's assistant.—H. T.

³ Captain Crawford was afterwards Lieut.-Colonel of the Bays. On the augmentation of that corps in 1794 he persuaded me to apply to the Duke of York for a cornetcy in it.—H. T.

⁴ In after life I became particularly acquainted with Captain, afterwards Sir H., Calvert. He was one of the best and most amiable of men I ever met with.—H. T.

in the Turkish War. He was very popular with the British 1793. corps and was liked and confided in by the Duke, to whom he proved very useful. At all times he strove to preserve good harmony and understanding between the respective allies—latterly no easy task.¹

The Commissary-General was Mr. Brook Watson,² a good methodical man of business, and his deputy, a Hessian by birth, was a man of superior resource; but everything had to be created in this branch also, and our supplies were chiefly by contract. The principal contractor was Mr. Eckhardt, a Hanoverian Jew, a clever man who did his best for the army and *himself*, for he made a large fortune and became Baron von Eckhardstein.

The hospital was not well established or regulated, although there were many good physicians and surgeons on the staff, but the Director-General was incompetent to the situation. The Duke of York's personal surgeon was very unfit for the post, being negligent and drunken.

As considerable numbers of Hanoverians and Hessians joined in the course of April, the Duke of York's staff was increased by some of their officers. These were four Hanoverian aides-de-camp, of whom one was Major Hardenberg, a clever man but almost blind. He was a brother or cousin of the Prussian Minister. The Hanoverian troops were commanded by Field Marshal Freytag, who had been a famous partisan in the Seven Years' War, but had not served since. He was, of course, not young, and had become slow and inactive. Count Walmoden-Gimborn was the second in command. He had been employed chiefly in diplomacy, was a clever, well-informed man, but as a soldier slow and undecided, and a bad horseman. He succeeded to the command when Field Marshal Freytag retired towards the close of 1793. The Major-Generals were mostly old men, though some of them

The
Hano-
verian
troops.

¹ Count Mereveldt in 1814 came to England as Ambassador from the Court of Vienna, when I renewed my acquaintance with him.—H. T.

² Mr. Brook Watson was an Alderman of London, and had lost a leg from the bite of a shark. He was a very friendly man and I was frequently at his festive board in England. He became Lord Mayor and discharged the duties of that station in troublesome times very stoutly. When he attained the mayoralty in 1796, party feeling ran very high, and the Government were very unpopular with the mob. Mr. (then Sir) Brook Watson had invited the leading members of both parties and the Duke of York and his staff to the festival at Guildhall, and I went with Mr. Greenwood in his carriage. Near Temple Bar the mob had taken the horses off Mr. Fox's hackney coach, and in dragging it, crossed or attempted to cross the line of carriages just ahead of Mr. Greenwood's. His horses were very spirited and the coachman impatient. The latter strove to keep his place; the mob assailed him and the carriage furiously with mud, and he used his whip lustily, but he would have been torn off the box if several very stout fellows with bludgeons had not come up and stood by him, at the same time that they advised him to let Mr. Fox's carriage in. After we reached Guildhall, Mr. Pitt arrived, his coat soiled with mud, but he carried his head as high as usual.—H. T.

1793.

did good service, particularly General Hammerstein, who distinguished himself in 1794 by his sortie from Menin. The French had closely invested that place, which was untenable, and General Hammerstein broke through their line and brought his garrison (about 4000 men) to country with comparatively trifling loss. Four companies of the loyal emigrants formed his advance guard.

There were some good Hanoverian staff officers, and many of their regiments, cavalry and infantry, were well commanded. The artillery was under the command of General Trew. They were good, but their calibre was too small. The cavalry were fine men and horses, and in high order, especially the Horse Guards and the 9th and 10th Dragoons. The infantry were, in general, of low standard, and a large proportion were young recruits. The Grenadier battalions were, however, select.

The
Hessians.

The Hessians were under the orders of General Butter, and Lieut.-General Wurmb was the second in command—both old men, as were most of the other General officers. The artillery and cavalry were few, ill-horsed and indifferent, but the infantry were excellent and useful troops, very gallant, especially the Grenadier battalions, though not composed of very tall men, as they were selected on account of good conduct. Nevertheless, they were great plunderers, and systematically so, as I often saw them out by detachments under a non-commissioned officer, or even a subaltern, with sacks.

Plunder
by soldiers
and by
women.

I question, however, whether, if confined to this, the practice was not less destructive to property than irregular plundering in which all, more or less, indulged, especially the light troops and irregular corps. The Hanoverian infantry were great plunderers also, and indeed so were the British, especially after we were joined by some new levies, such as the 85th, 87th, and 89th, wretched corps, and the Driver corps. The cavalry plundered less, excepting the 5th and 6th Dragoon Guards, Irish, which were ill composed and in bad order.

But nothing could be worse than the women who followed the English and Irish regiments. There was little regulation as to number; they were seldom under contract, and would often remain behind to plunder houses and villages after the march of the troops whose depredations they had escaped. We had indeed a Provost Marshal and assistants, guards and patrols, and great pains were taken to check the abuse, but it was very difficult to do so in an army composed of so many various nations and corps, especially on the retreats, and there was always repugnance to resort to violence towards women however abject. Some of them would also prowl about the field of a recent action, and would not spare the wounded—friend or foe—in their search for plunder.

Again, in 1798, in Ireland the nuisance was intolerable, for

in some regiments of militia the numbers of women exceeded 1793. that of the men. On the march to Galway Sir H. Clinton and I succeeded in clearing the line of march of them, but after the progress of a few miles they broke in upon it by a cross road, having pressed every car they found; and they forced the picket we placed at the junction of the roads—that by which they came being across a bog, and at right angles to the main road.

The evil has since been greatly checked by improved discipline, and by the regulations for limiting the number of women that accompany regiments on service, but it *will* creep on in spite of every exertion. Women find their way out indirectly, and make their appearance when least expected. I experienced this in 1814 in Holland, and had I remained there, I meant to have requested Lord Lynedoch (Sir Thomas Graham) to sanction the adoption of an expedient which occurred to me as likely to be of use on all marches or changes of quarters—namely, to *parade* the women with the battalion or detachment, and to march them off under guard with the baggage to the rear or front, according to circumstance.

I have anticipated many things in my remarks, and it is possible I may continue to do so without much observance of dates, but I do not attempt to describe regularly the events of this and the following campaign, although I may introduce some, with remarks upon them, as they may fall into the narrative of my personal concerns.

From Bruges we moved to Courtray, and after a few days' stay there, to Tournay. My servant and horses had not arrived, and I travelled on foot, no great hardship at that period of life; and the brother pedestrians were then many, nor did I personally require the aid of a servant.

But I experienced serious inconvenience from another circumstance. I did not belong to any regimental corps or department, nor, consequently, to any mess.¹

I was individually attached to Sir James Murray, but he dined with the Duke of York, as did all the other staff officers, or those who moved with headquarters. I was, from my peculiar situation, the only exception. I might indeed have drawn rations of bread and meat, but in my experience I was unprovided with canteens. As long as we were in large towns,

¹ One of my new acquaintances played me a trick on our arrival at Courtray. I inquired where I could mess. He replied that the Commissary General was the person to apply to, as he messed the army. I was raw enough to bite, and went to Mr. Brook Watson, who was not a little surprised. He very good-humouredly said I had been misinformed, but if I would dine with him that day he would be glad to see me.—H. T.

1793.

Bruges, Courtray, and Tournay, I could get dinner and breakfast at the inns and *tables d'hôte*, and even in large villages money would produce something, but in straggling quarters this resource failed.

However, soon after I reached Tournay I was relieved from the difficulty by the kindness of Lord Huntley, Colonel Ramsay, Captain Murray, and other officers of the 3rd Guards, who admitted me a member of their mess ; but when they moved into camp, headquarters being at Etreux, near Valenciennes, they separated into smaller messes. One of these I joined, but the walk to camp was not short or agreeable in bad weather, and business might interfere. I was too proud to state the difficulty to Sir James Murray, although often the only individual at headquarters who was exposed to the loss of meals, but at length he became sensible of it, and made me not a little happy by bringing me a general invitation from the Duke of York to his table. This occurred during the siege of Valenciennes, and henceforth I was on velvet. But the few weeks' probation did me good. I had been brought forward early, and made much of at Frankfort ; I was a great man in my own estimation. During several weeks after I joined at headquarters I found myself a sort of outcast from its circle. I was lowered a few pegs, and found my level. Still, I had brought with me too much of foreign manners and habits, and with these, a good share of assurance, not to say impudence, which led me to put myself forward in conversation with my seniors and betters, and to sport opinions very freely.

Of this I was very soon corrected by remarks made in my presence, and in which I could not fail to apply to myself, especially as in general accompanied by the words, "But he is very young!" The check was mortifying, but it was very salutary and useful ; and luckily it was not given too late.

I was satisfied on reflection that those who gave it meant it kindly, and in fact they became in progress of time my best and most valued friends.

I became more cautious and discreet, but the check had another effect and a very uncomfortable one. If any one happened to look at me, or if two or more were talking apart, I fancied I must have done or said something wrong or foolish, and that I was the object of unfavourable remark. I often suspected others of being displeased with, or of disliking, me, who probably were not thinking of me at all. It was a considerable time before I could shake off these uncomfortable sensations, and they would sometimes recur after experience should have satisfied me that it was absurd to suffer my mind to dwell on them.

Otherwise I was of a happy disposition, never lacking employment, or caring for difficulties, and I very soon received

the kindest treatment on all hands ; perfectly ready to work hard if necessary, but very fond of playing—not gambling—boys' play, amusement and every sort of fun (which I think has continued to be the case to this day), and I enjoyed excellent health.

CHAPTER III

EARLY REMINISCENCES OF SIR HERBERT TAYLOR, 1793

Remarks on the Campaigns of 1793 and 1794—Letter from George III. to the Duke of York at the close of the Campaign in 1794.

THE first shot I saw fired was at Rumes, near Tournay,¹ on the 1st of May, 1793.

I had walked out to breakfast at Orchies with some of my friends of the 3rd Guards who were on picket there, and we heard the firing to the left. Fitzgerald lent me his horse, and I soon came up with the combatants, but the fight was nearly over. The French had attacked the post of Rumes in some force, and had pushed forward a gun which the Austrian Hussars had taken. Some Hanoverian battalions were brought up, and after some further skirmishing the enemy retired. The French artillery had defended themselves desperately, and as I came up one of them was still resisting, and refusing to receive quarter. He was cut down, and though not dead would have been thrown into the hole dug for those who were, had not the Duke of York, who had come up on the first alarm, interfered and sent him to the British hospital, where he recovered. H.R.H. saw him there a few days later, and instead of showing gratitude, he abused him, cried, "Vive la Republique," "Ça ira," etc. I mention this as one of the many proofs of the savage manner in which the war was carried on. I will not pretend to say on which side the blame first rested. The Republicans fought under great excitement, and the Austrian light troops were merciless. I have seen them cut down and shoot prisoners who called for quarter, and there were instances on both sides of sick and wounded being marched in field hospitals.

We did not adopt this barbarous system, indeed all possible pains were taken to prevent its introduction. Early in 1794 Robespierre issued an edict forbidding quarter to be given to the British and Hanoverians. It was met by a general order of the Duke of York forbidding his troops to retaliate, and requiring them to show humanity and kindness to the prisoners and wounded. His order was carried to the French posts, and

¹ The headquarters at Tournay in 1793 were established in the fine and spacious Franciscan convent of St. Martin.—H. T.

produced considerable effect, and the French officers took every opportunity of declaring that they disregarded Robespierre's sanguinary edict. By degrees the animosity subsided, and the warfare became less savage.

Besides our own corps and the Austrians there was at that time, early in May, 1793, in and about Tournay, a corps of 10,000 or 12,000 Prussians under General Knobelsdorff, a very old officer of Frederick II.'s school. They were much engaged, on the 6th and 8th of May, in the woody country about St. Amand, and being rather pressed, the Duke of York sent the Brigade of Guards to support them, on which occasion the Coldstream battalion suffered severely. The other battalions were not engaged. I accompanied the 3rd regiment, and Colonel Greenfield, who commanded them, having enlisted me as interpreter, we went into the wood, but I only saw the effects of some long shot in the trees.

The French Commander-in-Chief, Dampierre, was killed on that day.

The Prussians marched to the Rhine shortly afterwards in exchange for Austrians brought from there. They were fine troops and in high order, but there was little harmony between them and the Austrians.

Our next movements led to the battle of Famars, in which the Duke of York's corps took an active part.

I accompanied Sir James Murray during a great part of the day, but at one period was separated from him, and was riding with Captain Clinton, Captain Vink (A.D.C. to General Walmoden), Captain Sontag, and I think Colonel Moncreiff also, towards a ravine beyond which a great part of the Hanoverian corps was formed under the brow of a gentle hill, when we saw a corps of French cavalry advancing towards the brow, and immediately after, a corps of Hanoverian cavalry of nearly equal force (the Horse Guards), including a detachment of Austrian Hussars, move out of their line to meet the enemy. We were so close that Captain Vink, who belonged to the Horse Guards, joined and charged with them. We looked on unmolested. The contending parties fairly met on the brow, though they slackened their pace on both sides, and pistols were fired. The shock and *mêlée* was nevertheless complete, and after a short contest the French gave way. The loss in the charge was not great, but the Hanoverians pursued too far, and suffered severely from the fire of a battery.

Meeting of two cavalry bodies at "the shock."

This event was long spoken of as one of the rare instances in which two bodies of cavalry fairly came to the shock. I have described it accurately; the charging pace was not kept up by either, and they met at little better than a walk. The Hussars who had formed on the right were borne down by the

1793. superior weight of the French, but came in on the flank when they gave way. Had either party kept up its pace the other must have been at once overturned.

The result of the battle of Famars was the retreat of the French army behind the Scheldt after throwing a garrison of about 14,000 men into Valenciennes, which was immediately invested by the Duke of York's corps, to which was added a considerable body of Austrians under General Ferraris, who I had seen as a child in 1781 at Brussels.

My servant, with a spare horse and a bag of provisions, started with me, but the first shot sent him to the right about, and I saw nothing of him until next day. When I reached Etreux, the headquarters, I was glad to get a bit of bread and a piece of raw pork.

The besieging corps encamped not far from Etreux, the Prince of Coburg covering the siege in the direction of Dousiers, etc. Condé was invested, or rather blockaded, at the same time. It surrendered some time before the fall of Valenciennes, and I saw the garrison march out and lay down their arms. Many of the French then were wretched-looking troops, and miserably equipped, but they were full of Republican ardour, and very impudent.

The siege of Valenciennes. General Ferraris had the immediate direction of the siege of Valenciennes. Colonel Froman was the chief Austrian engineer, and a very slow hand; but there were some very active junior officers; among these an Italian, Colonel Olandini. The British artillery had a battery at Briquet which did good service, but the battering train was Austrian. The sappers worked in armour.

The operation of the siege was carried on very methodically, and was protracted until the beginning of August. We opened the trenches at a very respectable distance, and went through the ceremony of three parallels, the sap, the construction of mines, and *globes de compression*, and ended with the storm of the covered way, Revelin, and counterscarp and the Horn work. The camp was often a very gay scene, and those off duty played cricket, etc., in which I readily joined. I also paid frequent visits to the trenches and rode about the country.

During the siege the French sent up a balloon which fell into our camp. It was full of letters (which had to be opened)—many of them love-letters. Although the garrison was large they made only one or two feeble attempts at sorties, which were easily repulsed.

The Princes Ernest¹ and Adolphus,² whose regiments formed part of the besieging corps, were a good deal at headquarters, and I became well acquainted with them.

¹ Afterwards Duke of Cumberland.

² Afterwards Duke of Cambridge.—H. T.

During the siege the Duke of York received visits from 1793. many English and foreigners, military and civilian. Mr. Wyndham and Mr. Pelham, Colonel Harvey Aston, Colonel Hardy, Mr. Stepney, Prince Joseph Poniatowski, a very fine, handsome fellow, and others whom I forget. These were flying visits; but amongst those who continued with us during the greater part of the campaign were the Marquis de Bouillé, the Duc de Richelieu, and the Comte de Langeren. The Marquis de Bouillé was of a certain age, and one of the most amiable men I ever met with, but often very absent, and out of spirits, as the events of the revolution and the failure of his attempt to save Louis XVI., had affected him deeply. He had become well acquainted with Sir James Murray in the preceding war at the capture of Ste. Lucie, and they were much together during the campaign. He was as cool in action and as indifferent to danger as Sir James, and as absent. He was fond of young people, and very kind to me; and he, the Duke of Richelieu, and the Comte de Langeren being volunteers, I often rode with and accompanied them. When we returned to Tournay from Dunkirk, his son, the Comte de Bouillé, helped in raising the York Hussars, the first of the emigrant levies.

When the storm of the French outworks was determined upon, I obtained Sir James Murray's permission to accompany him, but as it took place at midnight, we were soon separated after the troops broke round. It was an extraordinary and exciting scene, and more noisy than destructive.

Storming
the
French
outworks.

The springing of the *globes de compression*, the object of which was to throw part of the covered way and counterscarp into the ditch, followed by the storming parties rushing out of the third parallel, the shouting and "hurrahing" of these, and the occasional screams from the town, good parts of which were on fire (the batteries having played with extraordinary violence for some hours preceding the assault), the confusion and mixture of combatants of various colour, occasionally shown by the explosion of a shell or the bursting of numerous fougasses (small mines) on the glacis, the explosion of what we called "hen and chickens" (a large shell thrown a short distance which was filled with grenades that went on cracking after the old one had burst and scattered them), the crossing of columns, the partial resistance at the palisades of the covered way, the efforts of superior officers to preserve order, our hurrahs, the Hungarian cry of "Allah, Allah" (taken from the Turks)—all these were circumstances calculated to make a great impression on a young soldier, or rather a volunteer.

The greater part of the ditches was dry, and many descended into them by the *pas de souris*; ¹ others entered a large mine

¹ Narrow steps cut in the scarp and counterscarp (wall). The garrison pastured a few horses and cows in the ditch, and I saw one of our officers

1793. which the French had abandoned,¹ and thus found their way into the Horn work, the assault of which had not been contemplated. The leading part of one column fell into the channel of the *globes de compression*, and found itself in a cul-de-sac. The best effect of the *globes* was that the explosion alarmed the French, and caused most of them to abandon the nearest works. Our loss in the actual storm was therefore small, but towards daybreak the troops suffered some loss before they could lodge themselves, especially on the Revelin, which was enfiladed.

This event was succeeded by a renewed summons, and General Ferraud capitulated a few days after, on July 26th.

Ensign
Tolle-
mache.

The circumstances of the death of Ensign Tollemache of the Guards were much noticed at the time. He was on trench guard, therefore a spectator, but not an actor on the scene, and very much mortified, as were many others who were excluded. Yet he had a presentiment that he would be killed, and some verses were found which he had written, and which proved it. He was struck during the assault by a shot from the town whilst sitting opposite the parapet of the trench, a seat which he had been advised to quit, as too much exposed. I saw him sitting there, nearly facing the opening in the parapet by which the column sallied forth. He was a good-hearted young man, and much regretted by the corps.

In the progress to the covered way, I passed close to a young staff officer whom I knew well, and who was lying flat on his face. I naturally concluded he had been killed, and on the following day condoled with Colonel Moncrieff on the loss of his assistant, poor —. He exclaimed, "Loss! why, he is alive and well." I said I had seen him flat on his face and concluded he was dead. He put his finger to his mouth, and said, "Chit, chit, I am not aware that any one else saw or noticed it. He is very young, and one's nerves are not always in tune." He will do better another time. This was a sharp trial for a youngster." Such was the liberal feeling of as blunt and as gallant an officer as ever existed. Of course I never mentioned the circumstance or breathed the name of the young officer, nor will I now name him, although long since numbered with the dead. He was a very good fellow, and served very gallantly and usefully throughout the two campaigns.

After this we moved on. I had added to my establishment a man from the 37th, given to me by its Colonel, Sir Charles Ross, bring up a horse by the *pas de souris*, no easy job as they were broken in parts.—H. T.

¹ The French escaped across the ditch chiefly through the mine that led to the Horn works; we followed them after taking the precaution of causing some Austrian riflemen to fire a few shots through it. There was a good deal of loose powder in it, which was not exploded.—H. T.

and on the first day's march I purchased a very good trooper of a French deserter for five louis, and a little Polish horse of Count Mereveldt. One of them carried my saddlebags, and Sir James Murray's cart carried the rest of my baggage, never very heavy.

By this time we had been joined by several regiments of British cavalry. Lieut.-General Sir William Erskine and General Harcourt had come out also. The 11th Dragoons were commanded by Colonel Ralph Dundas, not a bad officer, but a great savage. Captain Childers, of that regiment, became one of the Duke of York's aides-de-camp, and Lord William Bentinck was added to the list about the same time.

The Prince of Coburg's *chef d'état major* was the famous Colonel Mack,¹ who at that time stood very high in the estimation of the Austrians, and of the allies in general, and not without reason, whatever may have been the falling off and the subsequent unfavourable opinion of him. Colonel Mack.

The Prince of Coburg was not a man of great energy or enterprise. Colonel Mack had the credit of directing the brilliant operations in the beginning of 1793, which had preceded the defection of General Dumouriez. From the plans and the correspondence I saw (and my situation gave me access to them), the principle recommended by Colonel Mack was one of forward operations from the centre, after having established a basis by the possession of Condé and Valenciennes; but his views were counteracted and thwarted partly by the jealousy of senior officers and partly by the indecision and want of energy of the Prince of Coburg. If, however, this had not been the case, the system of operations best suited to the circumstances would have been defeated by the unfortunate division of our mass,² which resulted from the infatuation of our Cabinet³ in suggesting that Dunkirk should be besieged by The unfortunate division of the allied mass.

¹ Colonel Mack returned to the situation during the winter, and planned the campaign of 1794. He had been promoted to the rank of Major-General, and was said to have large powers. He was looked up to as long as he remained. The proof of his having retained the good opinion and confidence of the sovereign was his appointment to the chief command some years later. But his conduct at Ulm, etc., cast a stigma on his character. I am aware that it was by many ascribed to treachery, but I believe without reason, and that it is more likely that he was in some degree the victim of the treachery of others. Jealousy was carried to great lengths in the Austrian army.—H. T.

² "Had they held together and pushed on vigorously against the masses of the enemy's forces there cannot be a doubt that the object of the war would have been gained.

"It was a resolution of the English Cabinet in opposition to the declared and earnest wish of Coburg and all the allied generals which occasioned this fatal division. The impartial historian must confess . . . that by compelling the British contingent to separate for the siege of Dunkirk, England contributed to postpone for twenty years its glorious termination."—Alison's "History of the French Revolution," vol. ii., Chap. XIII.

³ It has always been asserted and generally believed that the Lord Chancellor Rosslyn was the great promoter of the attack on Dunkirk.—H. T.

1793.

a part of the army, to which may be ascribed all the subsequent failures and disasters.

At the commencement of the campaign of 1793 the French had comparatively a very small force in the field, and this was ill composed, equipped, and provided; their numerous frontier places were indeed strongly garrisoned, but from them they could not venture to make large detachments, especially as a great part of the intermediate country was open plain, and they were deficient in cavalry, in which the allies were very strong.

Besides this they were disheartened by recent reverses, and by the defection of Dumouriez and other officers, and one or two regiments which had passed over with him; and they were suspicious of others. They also very early lost their Commander-in-Chief, Dampierre, a gallant and popular officer. We had united a large mass of good troops with a very superior cavalry, and I have always felt convinced that if, after the battle of Famars, we had left one or two corps to observe the garrisons, to check their sorties and inroads, to intercept their supplies, and had pushed on with the rest, we might have reached Paris, the capture of which was the most serious blow we could have dealt them.

Instead of that we wasted more than two months in the siege of Valenciennes and the blockade of Condé. But even after that, in the first days of August, we might, I conceive, have made this movement. We had to a certain degree established our basis of operations; the French had shown very little force in the field, and no enterprise, and we had a very powerful army in high order and in high spirits. But after a parade on the plains about Cambray and towards Arras we broke it up, and marched 40,000 men to an extreme point on the right—Dunkirk—while the remainder was employed on the other extremity in the siege of Quesnoy and the blockade of Maubeuge, and in keeping up an extended communication, the necessity of securing which we had thus established.

We abandoned our movements from the centre, and weakened our basis by so greatly extending it.

Nor was this the only evil. We drew the attention of the enemy to West Flanders, which became our weak point, and when early in the following campaign we endeavoured to resume the offensive, and to operate with concentrated force from the centre, we were checked by the enemy's operations on the side of West Flanders, and obliged to detach to that quarter; and by their adoption of the same system on our left flank on the Sambre we were gradually reduced from offensive to defensive warfare, alternately assailed on both flanks, and alternately forced on both. Our troops were harassed by marches and counter-marches, and by the necessity of preserving the connection between corps upon a long line, while the

enemy derived every advantage from their double line of 1793. fortresses towards rapidity, combination, and concealment of movements.¹

Colonel Mack was much out of health, and partly on this account and partly from disgust, retired from the post in which he was succeeded by Lieut.-General the Prince of Hohenlohe, an officer of reputation, but slow and methodical, and, as he proved, not inclined to adopt enterprising measures.

It is, however, fair to say that the Austrians in general were annoyed by the proposed movement to Dunkirk. Nor, indeed, was it approved by the Duke of York, who urged strong objections, though in vain.

Our Cabinet were bent on the conquest of Dunkirk!

We moved to the neighbourhood of Valenciennes on the 6th August, and on that and the following day drove the French from the camp of Cæsar and the Bois de Bourbon, where they had constructed works which they did not attempt to maintain, and we ranged across the plains unmolested by all but the heat, which was excessive, especially as we marched through corn of luxurious growth, nearly ripe. In the march round Cambray some men died from the effect of the heat.

The French army, between 30,000 and 40,000 men, were retiring towards Arras, and the Duke of York urged Prince Hohenlohe to move early and press them, but he declined, and told H.R.H. later in the day that he might follow them with his own cavalry if he pleased.

H.R.H. did so, and I was of the party. We overtook their rearguard at the village of Marquion, having with us about 3000 British and Hanoverian cavalry and a few Hussars. These and the 11th Light Dragoons had preceded us, and were skirmishing with the French beyond the village and the rivulet which ran through it. We came up a good deal blown, having moved at a trot through standing corn, but were brought to a dead stop in consequence of the French having broken the bridge and set fire to the village.

We heard the trumpets of our light troops on the other side, but the foremost of our column could not face the fire in the village street, and came to the right about, thus causing some confusion. Luckily we found fords above and below, and reached the opposite side in time to save the 11th and the Hussars who were hard pressed. Then we discerned the whole

¹ General Larcy had introduced in the Austrian division a system of spreading the troops in posts and pickets which covered the whole front considerably in advance. This cordon had the effect of securing cantonments against surprise, but it frittered away a large portion of the mass. I question whether the employment of a smaller number in constant patrols with intermediate reserves would not, in all respects, be preferable to fixed outposts.—H. T.

1793. French corps formed in two lines on rising ground behind a ravine some way off, and we formed at a respectful distance, being too weak to attempt anything further, and the ground not favourable. The enemy retired leisurely, and soon disappeared behind the hill.

Had we moved at daybreak, as H.R.H. proposed, we should probably have brought the enemy to action; as it was, the chase was useless, but it was across a fine country; the sight was pretty and very animated.

The
march
towards
Dunkirk.

After this we separated, the Prince of Coburg betaking himself with the main body of the Austrians to the siege of Quesnoy; we commencing our fatal march towards Dunkirk with the British Hanoverians and Hessians, and a corps of about 15,000 Austrians under General Baron Alvinczy, Lieut.-General Count d'Alton¹ being second in command of it.

We moved between Douai and Valenciennes across the Scarpe, by St. Amand, Roubaix, and Tourcoin, to Menin. The Dutch troops under the hereditary Prince of Orange occupied the line of posts towards Lille, and covered the left flank on our march, their principal post being Lincelles, where they had constructed some strong redoubts, well provided with cannon.

They were attacked by the French on the 18th August, and driven in upon our line of march, and from Lincelles and their redoubts, with considerable loss of men and of the guns. They fell back in great confusion.

The Duke of York ordered the Brigade of Guards under Major-General Lake to support them. He passed them, and marched directly upon the redoubts of which the French had obtained possession (and which they occupied in considerable force) and attacked them without hesitation. They were carried in the most gallant style, though not without some loss of officers and men.

This was one of the most brilliant incidents of the war, and highly creditable to the decision of General Lake and the determined spirit of the comparatively small number of men engaged. I accompanied the Duke of York and his staff to meet them on their return, and I never saw men in higher spirits—even the wounded were exultant, and cheering.

The Dutch were proportionately cast down, for all were surprised that works so strong should have been abandoned by them, as they were prepared for the attack, while the French were taken by surprise by the suddenness of that made by the Guards.

¹ General d'Alton was an Irishman. He and his brother entered the Austrian service very young and raised themselves by their merit. Our friend had distinguished himself in the Turkish war. He had all the native Irish humour, and had retained the strongest brogue. He was very kind to me.—H. T.

But the Dutch were not good troops, and upon few ^{1793.} occasions during this campaign acted with spirit.¹ They resumed their posts, but the Duke of York hesitated about returning their guns to them, and when he did he required a receipt from the hereditary Prince of Orange for them.² The Prince of Orange was not popular, and the Duke of York disliked him extremely. They had, I was told, had a difference at Berlin; but the Duke was wrong in his proceeding about the guns.

I was present (copying a letter for H.R.H.) when General Alvinczy came to him after the action and said, "Sir, we have here the bravest troops in the world; for God's sake take advantage of an event which has astounded the enemy, and let us at once invest Lille instead of prosecuting our march on Dunkirk. I am authorized to propose this, and to promise adequate reinforcements."

The Duke of York replied that he agreed with him that it would be the preferable operation, but that he had already in vain remonstrated with his Government against the movement on Dunkirk, and that his orders were imperative.

After two days' halt at Menin we moved on to Ypres, whence the Duke of York, with the British Austrians, part of the Hessians, and a small proportion of light cavalry, took the direction of Dixmude and Furnes; while the Hanoverians, part of the Hessians, and a greater part of the cavalry under Field Marshal Freytag, moved by Poperinghe and Rousbrugge to take up a position and cover the siege towards Casel and Bergues. From Furnes we advanced to Gyveldt, which the French occupied, but not in sufficient force to make any stand. The movement of Field Marshal Freytag experienced greater resistance, but it was not sufficient to impede him. There were two or three old stone redoubts or towers on the line of canal between Gyveldt and Dunkirk which were said to have been constructed by the Spaniards or by Turenne. From these the French fired a few shots, but they were not tenable.

On the 24th August we attacked all the enemy's posts in front of Dunkirk, chiefly in Rosendaal and the wood and pleasure

¹ The Dutch were in considerable jeopardy on this line, and frequently much annoyed by the French, who had a strong garrison at Lille. Later in the year, after our failure in Dunkirk, their posts were driven in, and they brought back their guns to Courtray—spiked by themselves for precaution. They had an emigrant corps—chiefly French gentlemen who behaved very gallantly. I met some of these on their retreat, who complained bitterly of the manner in which they had been exposed and left without communication or food.—H. T.

² In the following year the hereditary Prince of Orange was employed chiefly on the Sambre, and his conduct was favourably spoken of. His brother, Prince Frederick, was a young man of superior ability and energy, and in the progress of the war established a distinguished reputation.—H. T.

1793. grounds of that name, and drove them with considerable loss into their works.

The troops of the several nations vied with each other in gallantry, and some of them, especially the Hessians, were carried by their ardour to the very glacis.

Death of
General
d'Alton.

We suffered some loss also, and we had to lament especially that of the brave and zealous Lieut.-General d'Alton. He had commanded the attack, and had led on the troops with his characteristic bravery, and was returning by the great avenue of the Bois de Rosendaal when the action was over and the firing had nearly ceased. He met the Duc de Richelieu, was describing the action, and said, "Ride back a little way with me, and I will show you where we have been."

They had not gone far before General d'Alton was struck by a cannon ball on the lower part of the stomach, and fell forward on his horse. The Duc de Richelieu exclaimed, "Good God! sir, I hope you are not hurt?" General d'Alton replied, "My good fellow, my career is closed; I am torn to pieces." These were the last words he spoke.

This death completely damped the exultation which our success had raised, as he was a general favourite, and all looked up to him. I was at his funeral a few days afterwards, and there was hardly a dry eye in the ranks of the Austrians, especially the Hungarians. To us his loss was irreparable, as he was very partial to the Duke of York, and heart and soul with us.

Some of the ground we occupied was pleasure ground, studded with villas and gardens, and our advance had been so rapid that some of the tenants had hardly time to effect their escape.

I happened to go into one of these villas with an officer of O'Donnell's corps¹ by whom it had been plundered. It was a pretty house, well furnished, and the garden was ornamented with fountains and small figures. It had an aviary. The breakfast things were on the table, a tambour-frame with the needle sticking in the work, a book lying open on the table—all denoting the sudden flight of its occupiers. The officer told me that his men had gone to the well for water, and had drawn up the body of one of their companions who had probably found his way there alone and had been disposed of, and they had revenged themselves on some parrots and monkeys which they had roasted and eaten.

While walking round the garden, he noticed the figures (grotesque stone ones) and told me that a brother officer had in

¹ Colonel O'Donnell, an Irishman, had raised this corps, which was composed of men of all nations. Good light troops, but great plunderers. There were at that time several Irish officers in the Austrian service—d'Alton, Plunkett, Fitzgerald, O'Reilly, etc.—H. T.

the Turkish war brought away a small statue and had sold it at Vienna for a large sum. He wondered whether any of these were worth bringing away. I told him that I had been in Italy, and was a connoisseur and would assist him in the selection.

We picked out a Flora, and with some difficulty placed it on his horse, and he went away with his fancy prize, to my no small amusement. I brought away a canary bird and a cage.

(These early reminiscences do not appear to have been carried beyond this point.—E. T.)

The Close of the Campaign in 1794.

In 1794, upon Sir James Murray's return to England, Herbert Taylor continued with the Duke of York as assistant secretary.

Having applied for and obtained a cornetcy in the 2nd Dragoon Guards, he was, of course, removed from the Foreign Office; but Lord Grenville then took his two next brothers, Brook and William (twins), into it, employing them very confidentially, and on the situation as private secretary becoming vacant, offered it to either of them, when they drew lots, and Brook succeeded to it—Lord Grenville declaring that William should, upon a vacancy, become précis writer; and soon after he accompanied Mr. Hammond on a special mission to Berlin.

Herbert Taylor was present (as Cornet or Lieutenant) at the battles of the 17th, 22nd, and 26th of April, near Cateau, of the 10th, 17th, and 22nd of May near Tournay, and at some of the lesser occasional affairs during that campaign in the retreat through Holland.

In after years, while secretary to the Duke of York, he collected materials from H.R.H.'s papers, and other private sources, as well as from every French and German account of general events which had appeared relating to the campaign of 1794, from which, and a slight journal, he drew up a detailed description of this campaign, which was submitted to Sir Henry Calvert and one or two other officers who had served in it. Some of the papers were, however, mislaid, and the work was never published. Indeed, being incomplete, it would have lost much of its value. In this connection I will merely give the following extract from his "General Observations" in regard to the failure of the Allies:—

"The disappointment of the hopes which had been formed by the allied powers at the commencement of the campaign of 1794 may be attributed in a principal degree to the insufficiency of their means, which fell very short of those upon which the plan of operations had been calculated, and to the tardiness and neglect which prevailed in providing for the defence of the

places on the frontier of West Flanders, the independent security of which, for a time at least, was an object of the utmost consequence to the general success of the defensive operations.

"In addition to what has already been said on both these points it may be only necessary to observe that the number of troops upon which General Mack had calculated, exceeded the resources of the combined powers.

"The reduction at the peace of 1783 had indeed been such as almost to deprive Great Britain of an army, and at the commencement of the war in the spring of 1793 it was with difficulty that a few battalions of infantry could be produced for continental service.

"But since that period a year had elapsed, and in the spring of 1794 Great Britain was required to furnish 40,000 men. Of these nearly two-thirds were auxiliary troops, and had the attention of the country been directed exclusively to the co-operation in Flanders, and not been distracted by a variety of other objects which could not possibly be at once effectually embraced, the 40,000 men to be provided by Great Britain would have been early in the field.

The
absence
of effort
shown by
Holland.

"Holland never had more than 15,000 men in the field, and although in the event of a failure on the part of the Allies it became unavoidably exposed to the first attempts of the enemy, Holland made no serious efforts either to keep the seat of war at a distance from its frontier, or to secure that frontier when it became exposed. Its fortified towns were unprovided with garrisons, they were even, when attacked, generally without provisions, without cannon or ammunition, of which nevertheless immense stores existed in the interior of the country, and for which there was in general an easy conveyance by the water.

"The military force of Holland had at former periods been greater in time of peace than it now was, when from the position of that country, from the spirit of the times, and the experience of late events, it was evident that its dearest interests, its very existence as an independent state, depended upon the issue of the contest.

"Prussia had in time of peace above 200,000 men, and yet barely 50,000 were brought into the field in 1794, nor would these have co-operated had they not been subsidized by England.

"The subordinate Powers of the German Empire did not contribute in any essential degree to the prosecution of the war, although from the proximity of the French armies to their great boundary, the Rhine, it cannot be denied that they were materially interested in the result.

"Even the efforts of Austria in 1794 fell very short of its means, and did not bear any proportion to its subsequent

exertions, when by the abandonment of its advanced possessions the heart of the Empire became exposed to the enemy's attacks.

"The necessity of providing expeditiously for the security of Menin, of Ypres, of Tournay, Oudenarde, and Charleroi was admitted, yet no effectual steps were taken to ensure that object, and from the neglect that was shown in this respect it seems as if its importance had not been felt until the enemy's appearance before these places had removed all hopes of attaining it.

"The reinforcements for the troops, the supplies and stores of various descriptions were brought up without attempt to expedite the march of conveyance, nor were the resources and the assistance of the country through which they passed ever called forth for that purpose.

"The proceedings of the enemy were very different in this respect. Where the disposition was wanting, force supplied its place. Every order, every arrangement was issued by one supreme director; no difficulty was suffered to exist; no individual dared to oppose or evade the mandates of that supreme power; no excuse was admitted for even the appearance of neglect in the execution of its mandates, or for a want of co-operation in the general plan of operations, or in the partial execution.

The
vigorous
methods
adopted
by the
French.

"Every resource of the country was called forth; the supplies were drawn from all parts by contribution; the inhabitants were obliged to furnish horses and cattle, and when these did not exist, to contribute by their personal exertions to the conveyance of every requisite for the fortified towns, and for the troops acting in the field. The necessary repairs, the construction of field works, were equally a public duty from which no individual was exempted. When an expeditious movement of the troops was required, whatever the distance, every carriage which the country could produce was employed, and hence resulted those rapid marches from the Rhine to the Meuse, from the Sambre to the Lys, which enabled the French generals to direct so great a superiority of troops to various points, almost at one and the same moment, to concentrate them for one great effort, to remove them as circumstances required, and to renew their attacks with fresh troops before the Allies could provide the means of opposing attempts which so rapidly succeeded each other.

"It cannot be denied that the execution in the movements of the enemy derived great facility from the number and the position of the fortified frontier towns; but, on the other hand, it must be admitted that they availed themselves of this advantage, and, generally speaking, of all their natural and artificial means of defence, with a degree of energy and activity which presented a striking contrast to the conduct of the Allies.

"The circumstances which occurred in the campaign of

The
policy of
fortified
frontier
towns.

1793 and 1794 cannot fail to produce some reflections upon the policy and utility of strengthening the frontier of a great Empire by the fortification of every place whose situation and position admits of it. The advantages which the enemy derived from their fortified towns in the course of the campaign of 1794 have already been observed upon; it may be added that their influence was felt in the whole progress of the war, and that they were indebted to the nature of their northern frontier for their ultimate success in a contest in which at various periods they had experienced such extraordinary reverses of fortune.

“The efforts of the Allies upon this frontier during two successive campaigns had been attended with no other consequence than the capture of four of the enemy’s fortified towns.

“The French armies had been more than once completely defeated, and had not their frontier towns afforded to them security and protection, those defeats must have proved fatal to them, particularly in May, 1793, and in August in the same year, after the surrender of Condé and Valenciennes, as there existed no force which could in the field resist the progress of the Allies.

“But Lisle and Maubeuge and other numerous strong places always served, or at least were suffered to serve, as rallying points, and to prevent the Allies from penetrating into the interior of France, although it is questionable whether the means which the Prince of Coburg had at his command in 1793 at the two periods that I have alluded to, would not have been preferably employed in such an attempt.—H. T.”

I may fittingly close this chapter with the following letter from George III. to the Duke of York :—

Windsor. October 3rd, 1794.

MY DEAR FREDERICK,

I have not wrote since the reception of yours on having been obliged to cross the Meuse, which, though a very unpleasant movement, seems to have been necessary.

If I would give vent to my feelings on the supine conduct of the Dutch, my pen would never stop, or to the little faith to be pinned to the promises of the Austrians which are never realized and certainly have proved highly detrimental to you and the troops under your command, from your constantly fulfilling your part of the agreement, though they were evading theirs, and not in the most delicate manner.

The chief object of my writing is to acquaint you that yesterday the answer arrived from Lord Spencer and Mr.

Grenville to the dispatch from hence, with the proposition of the Marquis of Cornwallis getting the supreme command of the combined forces of the Continent, which, as I supposed, the Emperor has flatly refused.

I shall be curious to see what joint proposal will now be made to me, but I am clear that though my situation as well as yours has been painful, that the business is equally advantageous to us, for I have shown that I will let no private inclination of my own bias me in opposition to the great question in which we are (for the preservation of Religion, Civil Society, and everything dear to men) engaged in; and that you, by the good sense and temper you have shown in a most difficult situation, extricated yourself with honour and propriety.

Now that Lord Cornwallis must be out of the question, I trust we shall return to the former sensible plan on which we set out at the beginning of the contact, namely—that the Austrians will be a corps to themselves, and troops in British pay another, under your command—that you will, as much as possible, co-operate to effect the driving back the enemy, but that you will look on the defence of the Dutch possessions as your first object—that you will collect your whole force together, not throw small parts of it into those fortresses which must reduce your army to nothing, and prevent your being in a situation to carry sufficient force to repel the attack that may be made at any given point.

It is by experience of former errors that we can alone guard against the renewal of them.

Had not your corps been divided between the two armies, and consequently your force reduced to nothing, and the Austrians by that rendered the superior in both, and enabled by that to command every move to be taken, the campaign would not have been fruitless and we would not have the whole to begin again.

Keep up your spirits; remember that difficulties are the times that show the energy of character; and as the rest of Europe seem blind to the evils that await the unprosperous conclusion of this business, it is my duty and that of my country by the greatest exertion to attempt to save Europe and Society itself.

I ever remain, my dear Frederick,
Your most affectionate father,
GEORGE R.

CHAPTER IV

1795—1811

An Account of Nelson's Attack on Santa Cruz—Taylor's Appointment with Lord Cornwallis in Ireland, 1798; and with the Duke of York in Holland, 1799—His position as Secretary to the Blind King—Letters to the Duke of York from Baron Hardenberg and the Duke of Orleans—George III. and the Princess Amelia; his views on Government and Authority.

AFTER the Duke of York's return to England, Herbert Taylor, who in May, 1795, obtained his captaincy, stayed on in Holland as secretary to the Commander of the Forces, and continued in that situation first with Lieut.-General Harcourt and then with Sir David Dundas until September 16th of that year, when in consequence of being appointed A.D.C. to H.R.H. the Commander-in-Chief, he returned to England and soon afterwards became assistant secretary in the Duke's office.

Indeed, from the very outset he seems to have lacked no opportunity of secretarial and military employment, for during this autumn (1795), Colonel Charles Crawford, who was attached to the Austrian army as a military commissioner, offered to appoint him his assistant; and about the same period Major-General St. Leger, who had been named to a brigade destined for the Vendée, would have made him his A.D.C., but the situation he had accepted with the Duke of York precluded both.

Again, in 1796, Mr. Windham—then Secretary for War—proposed to send him on a military mission to the Vendée, which was accepted, subject to the Duke of York's approbation. This was obtained, but after being kept in suspense some months, this hazardous service was placed wholly out of the question by the dispersion of the Chouans, and the capture and execution of Charette. London, therefore, was for the present Taylor's headquarters; and his work, in addition to his regimental duties, was mainly in the office of the Commander-in-Chief.

Friendships grew apace and were ripening, but there is merely a solitary memo to the effect that he attended Lord Essex as second in a duel between the latter and the Duke of Norfolk.

In the following year—July, 1797—a sad event is recorded. This was the death of his brother William, through the upsetting of a row-boat on the Thames just below Richmond Bridge, when the three brothers (Herbert, Brook, and William) were returning on a dark night from Ham.

William, although he could swim, was drowned, probably in consequence of the boat turning upon him.

The situation of précis writer was given to Brook, who also continued with Lord Grenville as his private secretary until the latter retired from office, when he appointed him Minister to the Courts of Cologne and Cassel.

In the mean time Bridges, the youngest brother, was pursuing an active career in the Navy. He had been in several actions, and had once been fortunate enough to save the life of a boy (fallen overboard) by jumping after him while the ship was under weigh.¹ As Lieutenant on board the "Leander" he joined in Nelson's exciting but rash expedition in the landing at Teneriffe. On this occasion he sent home the following letter to his father. The account he gives of his own share in the action is certainly graphic, though dashed off without much regard to grammar.

NELSON'S ATTACK ON SANTA CRUZ.

"We left the Tagus, 16th July, and got in sight of Lord St. Vincent's Fleet on the 18th. His Lordship immediately sent us our orders; we then made all sail to the westward to join Sir Horatio Nelson with the command of the 'Theseus,' 'Culloden,' 'Zealous,' 'Sea Horse,' 'Terpsichore,' 'Emerald,' and 'Fox-cutter,' with a mortar boat; but not finding them in their first rendezvous, we steered for the Canaries; having a good wind, and carrying a press of sail, fell in with him on the 24th, off Santa Cruz.

"It was then blowing fresh from the N.E. At 6 p.m. we came to, a little out of reach of the enemy's guns, and then found that it was the Admiral's intention to take the island, as the squadron two nights before landed 1100 men near some heights, which they had to ascend; but found it was impracticable, one man dying and four becoming dangerously ill with fatigue in getting up two field pieces, and therefore came off.

"The Admiral then resolved to land at the citadel and take it by storm, which he expected to do with only the loss of 45 men. The 'Leander' coming late was only to land Captain Thompson and her Marines. However, he took our second Lieutenant and four men with him. At the same time

¹ Some years later he rescued two more lives from drowning—both of them sailors.

he honoured me with the charge of landing the Marines in the eight-oared cutter and launch.

"At eleven all the boats assembled alongside of the 'Zealous,' and at midnight quitted her, formed in two lines.

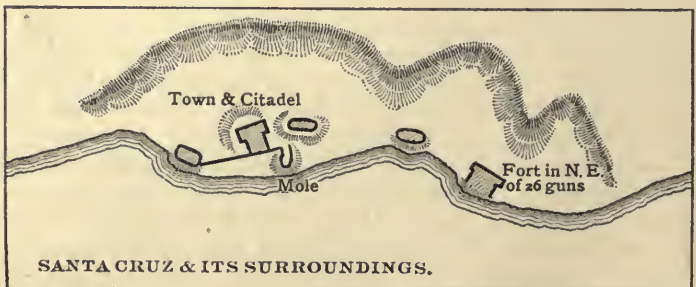
"The Admiral and all the Captains were with us. We unfortunately passed some way beyond the intended landing-place (I believe none but the Admiral and the Captains knowing where it was to be), therefore were ordered to pull round. This naturally put some boats into confusion, but fortunately not the case with us, by getting near our brave Admiral. The boats being gathered round and all ready, Sir H. Nelson asked Captain Bowen to step into his boat and lead; but I was first directed to cast off the launch and pass the word for all rowers who were able to pull in to do the same, which done, we all gave way for the place.

"At that instant the alarm was given on shore, and they commenced a heavy cannonade, accompanied with a continual volley of musketry. I then lost sight of all boats astern by their getting into a little confusion, as some were by the effects of shot almost sinking.

"The Admiral with Captain Bowen led, Captain Fremantle second, my noble Commander third, the Lieutenant and six Marines fourth. With these only we landed at the strongest post of Santa Cruz in the face of the citadel and batteries, when by the alarm given, finding ourselves perceived, we began to cheer. . . . I leave you to conceive how happy I felt in hearing Captain Thompson in the next boat, seeing that out of these four the 'Leander' had two.

Nelson
shot in
the arm
when
landing.

"The first person that went on shore was our gallant Admiral; but how unfortunate! stepping out he was wounded in the right arm above the elbow; it obliged him to go off. Captain Fremantle was the second, and also wounded in the arm. He went off in my boat.



[From Nelson's Journal.]

"But you must know that coming round the Mole head, which had seven 24-pounders, with about 400 men—(and in

landing) the Spaniards made the best use of their heels—as well as the same number behind some palisades which fronted us in landing.

“Our party, which consisted only of 50 or 60, the greatest part having only swords and pikes, pushed up through the gates.

“It was so dark; also being totally unacquainted with the place we knew not the proper way to proceed, so, like desperate fellows, always rushed forward upon those that fired at us last with field-pieces, of which they had several at the corners of streets. But really the enemy had every possible advantage, and alas! what a number of glorious men fell, all cheering and crying out ‘Let us storm,’ but neither saw or knew the proper object.

“Captain Bowen (great is the loss to the Service) fell with his first Lieutenant, Thorp, taking off their hats to cheer. I also missed an excellent messmate, Robinson, Lieutenant of Marines. Captain Thompson was wounded in the arm.

“They then retreated towards the Spanish boats on the beach, and I went out to the Mole head in hopes to bring back the news of a reinforcement. Only think of my disappointment. I hurraed and made a noise, but perceived none; then turning round saw our party launch a boat which got off. My Captain, I am happy to say, with four men were in her. It was his intention to go to the other boats and order some to our assistance; but being struck with a better project, went to the Admiral and asked to get the ‘Leander’ and frigates under weigh to batter against the town; however, it fell calm.

“I saw another boat which, being full of holes, as soon as off the ground, sank. I expected all those dear fellows would be drowned, and I believe the wounded in her were; they must have belonged to the ‘Sea Horse.’ Another with a few wounded got off.

“After examining the place a little, I joined the remaining, who were terribly diminished. Out of nine Captains and Lieutenants, had only Mr. Weatherhead, Earnshaw, and your son left; and consulting what plan to take against the enemy, they were both mortally wounded.

“In this manner we were getting cut up, attempting everything till the breaking of day, when from the groans of the unfortunate wounded, and having poor Earnshaw leaning on my knee in the greatest agony, I began to consider that with few muskets, no ammunition left, and unacquainted with the place, resistance against such numbers, well armed, quite useless.

“The wounded, who had behaved so well, we could not get unexposed to shot, and were we to remain until broad daylight they would see our pitiful force, therefore not a soul could

escape, and under the entreaties of my men, being well convinced nothing desperate had been left unattempted, and considering the situation of the above, I agreed to surrender with two midshipmen and eight men, who were all that fortunately escaped the effect of the enemy's fire.

"They took us to a guard house with all the wounded we could carry. You cannot conceive the joy the Spaniards expressed at so great a victory.

"Through entreaties and determinations not to quit Earnshaw and the rest of the wounded, the generous enemy permitted a midshipman and myself to remain there, and the others were taken to prison.

"We were much surprised to hear the cannonading continue, so were informed that the English had landed in another place.

"It soon after ceased, for Captain Trowbridge, finding no prospect of victory, and having then possession of a convent, prepared to set it on fire, which would communicate to the best part of the town.

"This made the old friars roar out, and send to the Governor, who proposed coming to terms. A capitulation took place, and he demanded all the King's money on the island, but the Governor gave his honour there was none. We were all to quit the place with the honours of war, and to be sent off at the expense of the Government, and in return we are not to molest the Canaries during the war.

"A very unlucky circumstance also happened; the 'Fox-cutter' with 230 men on board for landing, was sunk by a shot through her forefoot at the commencement of the cannonade, and 98 fine fellows were drowned, although everything possible was done to save them.

"Our third Lieutenant Hurdis, with two of our cutters, was towing her at the time of this accident, and deserved much credit for his great exertions.

"I wish it was in my power to express the gallant behaviour of our Admiral (whose arm was amputated the same night), Captain Thompson, Fremantle, Earnshaw, and Robinson—the two latter soon after died of their wounds—a midshipman killed whose name I have not had an opportunity to learn—also the others who fell and were wounded, I fear all mortally, except perhaps two or three.

"Those who landed at the wrong place, who, I believe, did not amount to more than 500, I understand also behaved in a glorious manner, and suffered very much. Captain Trowbridge, Hood, Miller, and Waller deserve to be highly honoured for their active and spirited conduct.

"Give me leave to add that Mr. Luckey, a midshipman who was in the launch under my directions with the Marines, lost sight of us in being run on board by the 'Emerald's' boat (which

immediately afterwards sank, but went on shore as above and at the head of our gallant Marines acted like a General. I am happy to say he was fortunate enough in having an officer of distinction that could make such a remark which Captain Hood (who also did wonders) made to our Captain, and I hope to the Admiral.

“It would be very ungrateful was I not to mention the great humanity with which the Spaniards treated our wounded. I will therefore mention some instances of it. A Mr. Collegan, a Spaniard, but descendant of the Irish, pulled off his shirt and cut up a neckcloth for their use. The Governor wished us to leave them all in the hospital, that the greatest care should be taken of them. He also sent us as much bread and wine as we could desire, which was not a little; and I could mention a great many more. [*Here follows a list of the killed and wounded and drowned.—E. T.*]

“I understand the Spaniards force was 8000 men in the town and batteries, besides 5000 more as a Corps de Reserve.”—B. W. TAYLOR.

In July, 1798, when Lord Cornwallis proceeded to Ireland as Lord Lieutenant and Commander-in-Chief, Mr. Pitt recommended that he should take Brook Taylor as his private secretary—but as his Lordship wished to connect with it the appointments of Military Secretary and A.D.C., Lord Chichester (then Mr. Pelham) suggested that Herbert Taylor should be substituted on account of his habits of military business.

1798.
With
Lord
Cornwallis in
Ireland.

The Duke of York gave his consent, and Captain Taylor therefore accompanied Lord Cornwallis to Ireland, who at once gave him his confidence and seems to have invariably treated him as a friend and a son. Captain Taylor remained with Cornwallis until February, 1799, when he returned to England on being appointed private secretary to the Duke of York, and was replaced in Ireland by Lieut.-Colonel Littlehales.

Referring to this interval with Lord Cornwallis, Captain Taylor afterwards wrote: “My duties in Ireland were interesting, but, from the disturbed state of the country, arduous and fatiguing, and occasionally embarrassing owing to the jealousy of other official men, as the mixture of civil and military business appeared to give me more influence than I really possessed. Still I received the most friendly support from many of them, particularly from Mr. Elliot, the Secretary for War, and General Hewett and General Craddock, the Adjutant and Quarter-Master General with whom I was previously unacquainted; their cordial assistance, with the honourable, fair, and steady proceedings of Lord Cornwallis, relieved me from every difficulty. I accompanied His Excellency into the

West of Ireland during the short service occasioned by the landing of the small corps of French, under General Humbert, but was not within reach of shot."

When Captain Taylor left Lord Cornwallis he received gratifying tokens of his regard and friendship. The two following letters refer to Taylor's services:—

LORD CORNWALLIS *to* THE DUKE OF YORK.

Dublin Castle. Dec. 5th, 1798.

SIR,

I cannot sufficiently express my sense of your Royal Highness's kindness in allowing me to keep Captain Taylor till the latter end of next month. I was afraid you had thought my request presumptuous, and I should not have ventured to make it if I had not felt it of great importance for the public business of this country as well as of private convenience to myself.

Captain Taylor, with great readiness and quickness of parts, is most indefatigable in business; and in honesty, fidelity, and goodness of heart he has no superior.

Your Royal Highness will see that we have hitherto been tolerably successful in our supplications to the English Militia, but it is not the kind of tenure upon which a man would wish to hold an army, nor will it, I am afraid, much contribute to the improvement of their discipline.

Mr. Dundas gave me a hint that it would be very desirable to get some recruits for the Army from the Irish Militia, and I feel as much as any man the infinite advantage of such a measure, but it is a matter of great delicacy even to sound the public opinion upon it, and I cannot at present be sanguine enough to hope that I shall find a sufficient stock of good sense and public spirit amongst the Colonels of Militia to give me any chance of success; my utmost endeavours, however, shall be exerted.

I am, etc., etc.,

CORNWALLIS.

Dublin Castle. Jan. 23rd, 1799.

SIR,

I cannot allow Captain Taylor to repair to your Royal Highness without repeating my acknowledgments to you for the kind indulgence which you have shown me by permitting him to stay with me much longer than I could reasonably have expected. The time which he has passed here will not, I trust, appear to have been uselessly employed, for your Royal Highness's service, from the intimate knowledge which his

abilities, and the station which he has held, have enabled him to acquire of the establishments and mode of conducting the affairs of Ireland.

I shall take the liberty of referring your Royal Highness to Captain Taylor for every information respecting this distracted country, and I should again presume to trouble you with a repetition of my sense of his merits if I was not satisfied that your Royal Highness will have opportunities to discern them, and the goodness to reward them.

I am, etc., etc.,
CORNWALLIS.

It was while in Ireland that Herbert Taylor received the intelligence of his father's death at Bath, in December, 1798.

Perhaps no parent ever established stronger claims to the affection and gratitude of his children. It was written of him afterwards that he "had devoted his life to their benefit . . . every wish, every thought of his mind, seemed to be absorbed in the desire to ensure their success . . . and he had the happiness before his death to see realized the happy union of his two daughters to most worthy men, Mr. Wilbraham Bootle and the Rev. Edward Northey. . . ."

In September, 1799, Captain Taylor attended the Duke of York to North Holland and was present at the battles of the 19th of September, and the 2nd and 16th of October in that year. He remained with Sir James Pulteney as secretary until the return of the troops from North Holland, and its final evacuation.

He continued as private secretary and as A.D.C. to the Duke until 1805, having in 1801 attained his Majority in the 2nd Dragoon Guards, and soon afterwards a Lieutenant-Coloneley in the West India Regiment. In 1802 he changed into the Coldstreams.

In 1805 the old King, George III., had for some time been sadly troubled with his eyes; in fact, by July was becoming rapidly blind. All through his long reign he had never had a secretary. The time had now come when it was necessary that he should have one, and on Mr. Pitt's recommendation Colonel Taylor was appointed to this very responsible and confidential position.

Appointed
secretary
to George
III.

The period (1805-10) was one of great political interest and anxiety to the King; and the position of the secretary was extremely delicate. Not only did transactions of all kinds with Ministers and others pass through his hands, but His Majesty was in the habit of consulting him and asking his

opinion. Taylor's replies were always open and honestly given, yet he was so discreet that he seems to have avoided invidious and hostile remarks from any quarter.

In 1810 the King's final malady began to assert itself. There was indeed a partial recovery of his reason in 1811, but it was of very short duration, and there is a pencil note in Colonel Taylor's handwriting written at the bottom of a list of passwords for Windsor Castle and the City in May, 1811: "May 30th. The last day of my attendance upon the King, His Majesty having been replaced under the charge of Doctor's men on that evening."

During these five years (1805-10) the King would be with his secretary in the mornings, dining regularly at 2 o'clock. The Queen and the Princesses dined at 4; and His Majesty at 5 o'clock would visit and take a glass of wine with them. After this he would again frequently transact business in his study with his secretary.

To his friend, William Marsden, Colonel Taylor wrote on June 19th, 1806, referring to the King: "I do not think his sight is much worse than for some months past. It certainly has not made any progress, whilst the patience, resignation, and unutterable good humour with which he submits to so great a calamity daily increase. Our friend, Sir Harry Neale, will tell you that it is impossible to be with our good King without finding every hour fresh cause to love and admire him."

Again, very many years later, in a reply to an article by Lord Brougham in the *Edinburgh Review*, Sir Herbert touches on the same subject:—

"The loss of sight was borne with exemplary patience and resignation, and neither this nor other trials produced, while His Majesty remained in a sound state of mind, any ebullition of temper, or harshness of manner or expression which could occasion pain or uneasiness to his family or attendants. I declare that during the whole period of my attendance upon King George III., not one sharp word nor one expression of unkindness escaped His Majesty, and the change of deportment in this respect conveyed, at least to me, the first intimation of the approach of that calamity of which I had the misfortune to witness the distressing progress and the melancholy effect."

It was only at the close of his *actual* reign in 1810 that the secretary found his master difficult to deal with in business matters. It is said that, not long before the soundness of the King's mind finally gave way, a certain high appointment had to be filled up, and Ministers had repeatedly—though in vain—endeavoured to obtain His Majesty's signature. One morning, however, Taylor again urged upon him the importance of settling the matter. "Oh! give it to the D——!" said the

King. His secretary paused a moment, and then remarked, very quietly: "And would Your Majesty desire that the appointment should be drawn up in the usual manner—" *to our right trusty and well-beloved cousin?*" The current of his thoughts being thus turned to comedy, the King, who was by no means deficient in humour, changed his mood, and soon prevailed upon himself to accede to his Ministers' wishes.

George III. was a man of earnest convictions and strong prejudices—essentially one who cared, and felt deeply.

How far the great events on the Continent during these five years affected the mind of the aged monarch, already torn with many troubles, no one can say. Trafalgar, shadowed by the glorious death of Nelson, Austerlitz, closely followed by the passing away of his great Minister, William Pitt, the apparently irresistible success and ever-increasing predominance of Napoleon Buonaparte,¹ the struggle in Spain and Portugal, as yet in the balance, the political horizon very deeply obscured by the ascendancy of the Corsican Usurper—all this, acting on his advanced age, may well have hastened the return of his former malady.

And at home, touching the affairs of his own family, there must have been ever present to his mind the unfortunate marriage of the Heir to the Throne, with whose failings he had but little sympathy; secondly, there was the trouble which the Duke of York, his favourite son, had to go through in 1809, ending in the resignation, for a time, of his position as head of the Army.

Finally, early in 1810, the lingering illness and death of his deeply beloved daughter, Amelia, is all well known.

There is a letter from him to her, written in his blindness. It is pathetic, not for the sentiments it contains, for, excepting a word here and there, it is impossible to read, but because of its unconscious illegibility.

Soon—save on rare occasions, when the light of his mind seemed for a few moments to partially return, and when he would sometimes be found praying to God for his country, for his family, and for the restoration of his own intellect—it was to be all darkness, mentally as well as physically, till the day of his death, nearly ten years later.

Moscow, Waterloo, and the climax of the French Empire were ever unknown to him.

The three following letters to the Duke of York belong to this period:—

¹ King George always had the belief that the curbing of Napoleon's extraordinary power was a duty devolving especially on England.

From BARON HARDENBERG (the Prussian Minister).

Königsberg. Le 23 Mai, 1807.

MONSEIGNEUR,

Advocat-
ing wise
combina-
tions of
the
Powers
against
Buona-
parte.

Osant me flatter que Votre Altesse Royale me conserve son ancienne bienveillance malgré l'espace de tems qui nous a séparés, je saisis l'occasion du départ du Colonel de Krusemark pour me rappeler à son gracieux souvenir, et pour lui renouveler l'hommage de l'attachement respectueux et inviolable que je lui ai voué pour la vie.

Daignez accorder Votre protection à M. de Krusemark, Monseigneur. La cause pour laquelle il est envoyé en Angleterre Vous tient sans doute infiniment à cœur, et en secondant par Votre puissante protection tout ce qui peut nous faire atteindre le grand but, Vous contribuerez à sauver le monde civilisé de l'esclavage et des malheurs incalculables qui le menacent et qui ne manqueront pas de fondre sur nous tous, si Bonaparte sort victorieux de cette dernière lutte. L'Angleterre même, quelque puissante qu'elle soit, peut elle se dissimuler, qu'il ne lui restera que le bénéfice de la "Grotte de Polyphème," si son audacieux ennemi dispose, à son gré, du Continent ?

C'est le dernier acte du grand drame. Que tous ceux qui désirent un denouement heureux, se pressent de prendre des mesures aussi promptes qu'efficaces ! Faire disparaître de la Politique, les défiances avec l'art de tromper, établir une confiance entière et réciproque, hâter un concert parfait entre les Puissances qui veulent le bien, mettre à la place des lenteurs, des irrésolutions de l'incoherence dans l'emploi des moyens—la celerité, l'énergie, la persévérance et des plans sagement combinés—voilà Monseigneur, ce que Votre Altesse Royale jugera Elle même indispensablement nécessaire ; voila à quoi je m'efforcerai de contribuer dans la carrière où je viens de rentrer.

Le Colonel de Krusemark me pénétrera de satisfaction, s'il me marque que Vous avez reçu ces lignes avec bonté, Monseigneur.

Je vous prie de croire au profond et zélé respect, et à l'ancien dévouement avec lesquels je suis,

Monseigneur,

de Votre Altesse Royale,

le très humble, très obéissant et

très affidé Serviteur,

HARDENBERG.

In spite of the good work the Duke of York was effecting in his administration of the Army, he retired from his position as Commander-in-Chief in March, 1809.

Colonel Wardle, in the House of Commons, had raised the question of the adventuress, Mary Anne Clarke, having used her intimacy with the Duke for the purpose of getting money from certain officers by recommending them for promotion. The inquiries proved that H.R.H. had shown great carelessness in his dealings with Mrs. Clarke. His connection with this lady was severed, but his resignation was necessary. Certain legal actions also ensued. In May, 1811, the Duke was reinstated to his former position.

From MRS. FITZHERBERT.

Brighton. December 15th, 1809.

MY DEAR SIR,

I am so delighted at the result of the Tryal that I cannot refrain troubling you with one line to offer you my sincere congratulations and the best wishes of my heart that you may never again have anything more to trouble or torment you thro' life. Colonel Wardle's action

I know your time is so taken up that I will not further intrude upon you than to beg you to allow me to subscribe myself, my dear Sir,

Your sincerely attached and affectionately devoted,
M. FITZHERBERT.

From THE DUC D'ORLÉANS (afterwards King Louis Philippe).

Bagheria, near Palermo. July 14th, 1811.

MONSIEUR,

Permettez moi d'offrir mes sincères félicitations à Votre Altesse Royale sur Votre nomination au commandement de l'Armée. C'est une belle victoire remportée sur vos ennemis, et il doit être bien doux pour vous de voir combien cette mesure du Prince Regent obtient l'approbation du Public et de l'Armée.

Croyez que j'en jouis du meilleur de mon cœur, d'abord parceque je suis très reconnaissant des bontés et de l'intérêt que vous m'avez constamment manifestées, ensuite parceque je suis Prince, et que c'est un vrai triomphe pour tous des Princes de quelque famille et de quelque pays.—qu'ils soient, lorsqu'ils entendent bien leurs intérêts; et finalement, je m'en rejouis pour l'Angleterre, pour laquelle je sais que mon sincere attachement vous est bien connu.

Je suis bien sensible à la justice que je n'ignore pas que vous m'avez rendue à cet égard en plus d'une occasion.

Oserais-je vous prier de me rappeler au souvenir de S.A.R. Madame la Duchesse d'York et du Duc de Cambridge.

Veillez recevoir l'hommage de mon respectueux attachement.

J'ai l'honneur d'être,
 Monseigneur,
 de Votre Altesse Royale,
 Votre très affectionné Serviteur,
 LOUIS PHILIPPE D'ORLÉANS.

As, during the regency, I shall hardly have any occasion to refer again to George III. except with regard to his illness and death, I will take the opportunity of inserting here a little note of affection to his daughter Amelia for her birthday, when she was only five years old.

Cheltenham. August 4th, 1788.

MY DEAREST AMELIA,

As I shall not see you on Thursday, the 7th of this month, I have sent a writing-box and a wooden shoe which is a nutmeg grater, as signs of my not having forgotten you ; were I to express all the wishes I make for your prosperity in this world, and eternal happiness in a better, volumes would not contain them.

I shall, on Sunday the 17th, be at Kew before you are out of your bed, to bring you to Windsor and to see your two sisters.

Believe me ever, my dearest Amelia,
 Your most affectionate father,
 GEORGE R.

And I will conclude this chapter with a paper—an essay, in fact—written by King George in the early period of his long reign. It is interesting as showing his ideas on Authority and Government, and is in his own handwriting:—

George
 III. on
 Authority
 and
 Govern-
 ment.

“The nature of man is the same in all places, and in all times, but varied, like their statures, complexions, and features, by the influence of the several climates where they are born, and by the education and manners they adopt ; these produce generally the same forms of Government in the same sort of countries.

“Thus, the more northern and southern nations (extremes as they say still agreeing) have ever lived under single and arbitrary dominions, as Russia and Tartary, Africa and India ; while the more temperate climates, especially in Europe, were anciently Commonwealths, and of later ages, principalities bounded by laws, which differ less in nature than in name.

“For there seems to be but two general kinds of Government ; the one exercised according to the arbitrary command of

a single person; the other according to certain laws introduced by custom or agreement, and not to be changed without the consent of many; but under these may be classed the various distinctions that are, by the authors who treat on this subject, so fully expatiated upon.

“All Government is a restraint upon liberty, and under all, the dominion is equally absolute where it is in the last resort.

“So that when men seem to be contending for liberty, they are in reality only attempting to change those that rule, or to regain the forms of Government they formerly had been accustomed to; though when they enjoyed them it was not without some pressure and complaint.

“Authority arises from opinion of wisdom, goodness, and valour, in the persons who possess it.

“Wisdom enables men to judge what are the best ends, and what the best means of attaining them.

“Goodness obliges men to prefer their duty and their promise before their passions or their interests, and is properly the object of trust, and consequently best expressed by the name of honesty.

“Valour ensures respect, and promises protection.

“Eloquence, beauty, and nobility have also some effect on the opinions of the vulgar; to which may be added another source from which usually springs greater authority than from all the rest, which is the opinion of Divine favour or designation of the persons or of the races that govern.

“Piety, prosperity, and splendour in palaces also beget authority; yet authority is confirmed and strengthened by nothing so much as by custom.

“Power follows authority in civil bodies, as in natural (bodies) the motions of the body follow those of the mind.

“We may with the greatest appearance of truth suppose that the men who first assembled to form any civil constitutions were not separate persons, but the heads of families, consequently persons of authority over such numbers as composed their families.

“Every idea of the want and helpless state of an infant encourages us in seeing the necessity of parental authority, which undoubtedly subsists until the child can provide for itself, and in well-disposed minds is only terminated with life.

“Thus in process of time a family becomes a little kingdom, and a kingdom is nothing but a great family; nor is it improbable that this parental jurisdiction in its successions, and assisted by accidents, may have branched out into the several minute distinctions of governments, upon describing of which so many authors have laid great stress.

“Governments founded on contract may have succeeded those built on authority; but they seem rather to have been

agreements between princes and subjects, than between men of equal rank and power.

“It is needless to enter into the arguments or comparisons of the several forms of government that have been, or are in the world; that cause seems best that is supported by the ablest advocates; they have all their advantages and disadvantages; and that form suits best a nation that has been longest by use and custom established there. And in general those are the best Governments where the best men govern; and the difference is not so great in the forms of Magistracy, as in the persons of the Magistrates.”



KING GEORGE III.



QUEEN CHARLOTTE.

From Miniatures on the lid of a gold snuff-box, presented to Major-General Taylor by the Prince Regent. (See p. 176.)

CHAPTER V

SIR HERBERT TAYLOR'S RECOLLECTIONS OF BARON CHARLES HOMPESCH

Baron Charles Hompesch, of whose curious and ungoverned career Sir Herbert gives his recollections, must have died at Datchet, probably in 1811 or 1812.—E. T.

BARON CHARLES HOMPESCH was of a very old family on the Rhine, and was a man of great physical power, considerable talent and information, but of a wild, ungovernable mind and temper—daring and rash, but without judgment, though not without cunning—unprincipled, especially in pecuniary transactions, but a great stickler for the *point d'honneur*, and prepared to go to every extreme against any one who ventured to call him in question.

He was as unsafe a companion as ever I met with, and in fact was mad. He looked as wild as he was.

He had been in the Austrian service, and having quarrelled with his superiors, and been (as he thought) ill used, he revenged himself by engaging in the Prussian interests, and by endeavouring to raise a rebellion in Hungary.

He was taken, escaped with difficulty into Prussia, and was attached as Captain to the Black Hussars. He showed great gallantry on some occasions in the campaign of 1792—received the order of merit, and was promised a troop in the Eben Hussars.

At this period I met him at Frankfort. He had the good fortune, in a skirmish across the Rhine, to save the life of the General's son, and he then came into the regiment of Eben with flying colours.

Unfortunately, he took a great fancy to me, and he proved afterwards a great annoyance, nor could I ever shake him off, although I did not hesitate to risk a quarrel with him to effect the riddance.

He came to our headquarters in 1793, and engaged to raise a corps of cavalry and infantry, part of which joined us in Holland in 1794; but its completion and efficiency, as well as his own service with it, were interrupted by his capture by the

French on the way to the corps with the Regimental Caisse, with which he had ventured to take a short cut. He made his escape, and swam across the Rhine to an Austrian post.

I saw little more of him until sometime after, in 1796, in England. The remains of his corps had in great part perished in St. Domingo. His rank had gone on, and he was a general officer, receiving pay as such. He was engaged in endless claims and disputes with the War Office for losses which at best were greatly exaggerated, as were those of others similarly circumstanced.

His brother Ferdinand had, in the meantime, raised a corps of *Chasseurs à Cheval*, which did good service under his orders in Ireland, proceeded without him to Egypt, and was reduced after the Peace of Amiens. . . .

Ferdinand also rose to the rank of Lieutenant-General; and having survived his brother, inherited large property on the Rhine and in Bavaria from an uncle who was for some years Bavarian Minister. Another uncle was the last Grand Master of Malta.

It would be endless to pursue Charles Hompesch through every part of his mad career. He had at first been well received—his rank and reputation of gallantry having paved the way for him to the Prince of Wales's society, to York House, etc., but latterly he was generally shunned.

When in Hungary his brother had fought a duel, and Charles was his *adversary's* second. Being dissatisfied with an official answer from Mr. Charles Dundas, Secretary at War, he called him out; the other was prepared to fight him, but the civil authorities intervened.

He availed himself of the privilege of an old friend to hang upon and worry me, and he clung to me like a leech when all avoided him and kept out of his way. I could not; for I had become a fixture at Windsor Castle, and he purchased a cottage on the banks of the Thames, near Datchet. Hence he poached, and was the terror of the whole neighbourhood.

While there he took it into his head to arm a privateer, with which he attacked and plundered a small Danish Island—one of the Farøes, which it had been agreed by the Government not to molest. How he escaped punishment for this act of piracy I forget; but in the mean time he fought a duel with a Lieutenant Richardson of the Artillery, who, fancying that the Baron had insulted him and some ladies as he passed them in the Strand, had come behind him and knocked him down. At the third fire he shot Lieutenant Richardson through the body, and the wound being considered mortal (though he eventually recovered) Hompesch was obliged to keep out of the way.

He, however, came to me privately, to ask me, as cognisant of the usage and laws of honour in *Germany*, whether, having

received a blow, he was not bound to call Lieutenant Richardson out again, if he should recover—and not to be satisfied until he had killed him.

I replied, if he did, the laws of honour would not save him from being hanged.

His shooting dress was as extraordinary as himself—a light nankeen jacket and trousers, no stockings, and an old woman's black bonnet which he had picked off a hedge. I used to remonstrate with him about poaching, etc., and he took it in good part; indeed, as I have said before, he was determined not to quarrel with me.

I never would ask him to dinner at the Equerry table, and told him fairly I could not trust him, as he would quarrel with some one at table.

Indeed, I knew from himself that he had called out his friend and agent, Mr. Gilpin, because he happened to meet Dr. Robert Willis¹ at his table, and imagined the latter had been invited there to watch him.

Once he came to me with an immense stick armed with iron, and advised me to get one. I asked, "What for?" "Oh, it is an excellent thing in case of a quarrel." I replied that I knew a better, which was not to quarrel. This remark, however, had almost provoked a breach.

His second trip in the privateer was yet more disastrous than the first. His crew were as lawless as himself. He quarrelled with them. They mutinied and turned him adrift in an open boat almost naked, and turned pirates.

He reached the shore, and made his way to Datchet. I clothed him from head to foot.

After this he was quiet for some time, and much broken in spirit. He acknowledged to me that he had often been on the point of destroying himself, but that when it came to the point, he had invariably been withheld by the impression that there *might* be a future existence. I should do him the greatest favour if I would remove that impression.

I replied that I knew it was useless to talk to him about religion (he was a determined scoffer), but he could not apply to a more firm believer than myself, or one less likely to attempt to destroy the impression on his mind that there was a future state, and a God that would award and punish. But I would appeal to his common sense; let him look round him, consider the wonderful arrangement and symmetry of celestial, animal, and vegetable creation, the division of time, space, and light and other wonders of nature, and then dare to say that all this was chaotic and accidental, and did not offer evidence of the hand of a Superior and directing Being.

¹ The physician appointed to attend King George III. during his illness and the loss of his reason.

He said all this was commonplace, and I rejoined that the apparent simplicity—the easy and uniform action of the machine—offered additional evidence of the Master Hand ; but if all this failed to convince him, I would attack a tender point, and say that suicide, as a moral act, was considered *cowardly*.

He denied this, and quoted Cato, Seneca, and others as examples.

I told him he had better go back to Ajax, who was mad.

One of his fancies was to write poetry in Latin, French, German, and English, with the sight of which he favoured me. Sad stuff. Many of these were lampoons in doggerel rhyme, for one of which he had paid dearly when he lived at Nine Elms, Battersea, where he had established a manufactory of some sort. It was written against a neighbour who had offended him, and who brought an action against him.

Garrow was the plaintiff's counsel, and spared the Baron so little that he called him out, and threatened to horsewhip him, but was, of course, bound over to keep the peace.

He was often in distress, but never applied to me for pecuniary assistance, and upon one occasion repaid, as soon as possible, a small sum I lent him.

Even his iron frame could not be expected to stand such wear and tear. Epilepsy, to which he was subject, increased : and the slights of his housekeeper's daughter gave him the final shock. He was about 60, but had fallen desperately in love with her, although her charms were not great. She turned a deaf ear to his advances, even to the offer of his hand, and she and her mother betook themselves off. Nor could he discover their retreat. They were indeed succeeded by others, but these did not suit him, and acted chiefly as nurses. They often called in my aid to keep him within bounds, to my great annoyance, but I was the only person who had any control over him.

One morning (in 1811, I think), soon after five, old Gaskin (the porter at the Upper Lodge) came to tell me that Baron Hompesch was in his room, dripping wet and almost naked, having swum the Thames (after attempting to drown himself) and run across the Park ; that he had by some means let himself down into the area, and had thrown up the sash, and got into his room ; that he was a pitiable object, and afraid to come to me. I went down, found him shivering, and scolded him. I then insisted on his going home immediately before many were stirring, and I sent my servant and two labourers with him. I also required that they should bring back every sword, pistol, knife, and razor he had in the house.

He agreed to all this upon my promising to come to him in the course of the day. When I did, he told me that he could

bear this misery no longer; the desertion of the young lady had broken his heart, and he had got up and jumped into the Thames with the determination to drown himself, but when in the act, the desire of life had proved too powerful; his feet were entangled in the weeds and he had with difficulty extricated himself.

He promised on his honour not to renew the attempt on his life, and entreated I would send back the knives, which I did.

Not long after, one of the ladies came to me to say that the poor man had been seized with apoplexy, and had lost the use of a side, and that he had also an epileptic fit. I went immediately, and never beheld a more pitiable object. The epileptic fit was over, but had nearly exhausted him.

He was quite sensible and desired that I would write to his brother, who very soon arrived.

He did not long survive this attack, and was buried at Datchet. He left his property and claims to his brother, £500 to the two female attendants, and a rifle and sabre to me. The latter was the more highly prized, as it had been given to him by the Hungarians, and had belonged to Stephen Battori, King of Poland and Vaivode of Transylvania. The Prince of Wales had offered him £200 for it. Some years after I presented it to H.R.H., who gave me one in exchange, and it is now in the Royal Armoury.

Baron Hompesch's affairs were not wound up until 1837—long after the death of his brother—when his solicitors wrote to me for the address of the two women (which I could not give) and informed me that after satisfying all claims there would be a surplus of nearly £5000.

I have penned this long account, as it may be considered curious, and no other person could so well give it.

Baron Hompesch was one of those men whose extraordinary natural talents, spirit of enterprise, and gallantry might have proved creditable to himself and useful to others had they been under the direction of good principle and judgment. As it was they proved neither.

The charitable conclusion is that he was mad. But he was not incapable of attachment and gratitude, and I am confident that he would have gone through fire and water for me.

Among his strange notions was one that he had claims to the Sovereignty of Malta, in consequence of his uncle being the last Grand Master, and he seriously contemplated putting in his claims to compensation for waiving it, until I laughed him out of it.—H. T.

CHAPTER VI

THE KING'S HOUSEHOLD, 1812

Concluding with some correspondence between Queen Charlotte and the Prince Regent.

THE King's condition involved a remodelling of the Household. In March, 1812, Colonel Taylor was appointed one of the trustees of His Majesty's private property under the Regency and Household Acts, and, soon after, private secretary to the Queen under the Windsor establishment. The discussions and correspondence that led up to these and other arrangements caused Her Majesty considerable anxiety at the time.

QUEEN CHARLOTTE *to* COLONEL TAYLOR.

Windsor. December 24th, 1811.

The Queen is very desirous to prove to Colonel Taylor how strongly she feels the unwearied attention he has so uninterruptedly shown her during her present anxiety, and under which she still continues to labour; as also how sensible she feels the trouble she has given him by calling for his assistance at such moments when he might have employed his time much more to his own comfort.

No reward can ever be adequate to what she feels for his attention, but as a proof of it she offers him a small token by which he is desired to remember that his assiduities are gratefully received, and can never be forgotten.

The Queen flatters herself that Colonel Taylor will not refuse to accept a trifling gift which the present season affords her an opportunity to offer him.

She is perfectly sensible that it is not equal to what the Colonel deserves, but there are services which can never be repaid, and this situation the Queen feels most strongly at this moment, but unable as her powers are to requite him, she will at all times be happy to convince him of her regard and esteem.

CHARLOTTE.

COLONEL TAYLOR *to* QUEEN CHARLOTTE.

Windsor. December 25th, 1811.

Colonel Taylor has this moment been honoured with your Majesty's most gracious note and the accompanying most

handsome present, and he has to regret that he cannot find terms which can convey to your Majesty his deep sense of your extreme kindness and condescension.

Colonel Taylor hopes your Majesty will forgive his repeating to you that the truest inclination, not less than a strong sense of duty and attachment, would at all times prompt him to devote his zealous and assiduous services to your Majesty, and every individual of the family here whose kindness and attention he has during so many years experienced in so marked a degree. He feels that he would be wholly unworthy of your Majesty's good opinion, and not less so of the situation which he has had the honour to hold, and of the paternal kindness with which he was at all times treated by his beloved master, if he could ever be influenced by any other sentiments than those of the warmest attachment and gratitude, and of the utmost devotion towards his family.

The discharge of a duty which is called for by so many powerful motives merits no reward, but Colonel Taylor humbly assures your Majesty that there is not a moment in the day in which he would not find it, in the pleasing reflections which result from the unparalleled kindness which he has the happiness of experiencing here.

H. TAYLOR.

Colonel Taylor discusses his own Situation.

COLONEL TAYLOR to THE DUKE OF YORK.

Windsor. December 29th, 1811.

SIR,

The kindness and condescending friendship which I have experienced from your Royal Highness upon all occasions encourage me to address you upon this, and to have recourse to you as the most satisfactory channel of my representation to His Royal Highness the Prince Regent, and to Mr. Perceval¹ upon a subject in which my future credit and peace of mind are deeply implicated.

I should indeed be ashamed to intrude my own interests and concerns upon the notice of the Prince Regent and his Government at this period, nor indeed had it ever been my wish or intention to do so at this or any other period, but in the present instance they are interwoven with the arrangements in agitation, and this circumstance will I hope appear to justify my departure from a general principle.

I have observed in the paper which your Royal Highness

¹ The Prime Minister.

delivered to the Queen from Mr. Perceval, that the proposed establishment of the King's household includes a Secretary to the Groom of the Stole, and I have understood that the intention is that I should be continued here in that situation. I cannot disguise from your Royal Highness that I could not bring myself to subscribe to this arrangement without great and painful reluctance, arising from motives to which every hour's reflection gives additional strength, though I must expressly declare that not one of them is influenced by any feeling towards Lord Winchelsea, which is not consistent with the sentiments of high respect for his character, which I have at all times entertained for him. This, indeed, abstractedly considered, would prompt me to use my most zealous exertions in the execution of any service which he should wish me to undertake ; but, Sir, I have had the honour of filling for more than six years the most honourable and confidential, and I may add, the most important situation to which I could aspire, and I cannot but feel that I owe it to the poor King, who was graciously pleased to place me in that situation, not less than to myself (and even to my rank in the Army), not to engage in an office which must, both in denomination and in the nature of its duties, be considered in my estimation so inferior to that of which the duties have unfortunately expired.

There is another objection which would weigh as strongly with me if the first were out of the question. The Secretary to the Groom of the Stole must of necessity, under the intended arrangement, and as residing constantly on the spot, be the most efficient officer ; the principal labour and responsibility must fall upon him, and above all he must be the most active agent in the prevention and correction of abuses. To labour and responsibility in the discharge of duties to which I felt competent, I have never objected, but I should not be justified in undertaking duties for which the habits and pursuits of my life have not fitted me ; I should discharge them ill, and should be miserable under the reflection that I was not doing justice to the views of my employers. I am also persuaded that it will strike your Royal Highness that the selection of a person who is a stranger to those whom he is to control would, in the present case, be far preferable and more likely to answer the proposed end, than that of a person who has for years been in daily intercourse, and has witnessed, without the power of checking, the irregularities which at the expiration of that period he is called upon to scrutinize and check.

This alternative will also afford a field from which an individual can be selected who is fully competent to the nature of the business, and who will, therefore, discharge it to the satisfaction of his superiors.

I am aware, Sir, that the intention of thus employing me



FREDERICK, DUKE OF YORK,
COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF OF THE ARMY.

From a Miniature.

arises from the kindest and the most gracious of motives, that of continuing here while my beloved master exists. Your Royal Highness well knows the infinite importance which I attach to this object; you know how grateful I feel towards those who are so kindly disposed to promote it, and you will give credit to the assurance that both duty and inclination render me desirous of remaining here, and will prompt me to be still, as I have been, a constant resident while the King lives.

But your Royal Highness will, I trust, at the same time, acquit me of any inclination to indolence, and yet more of any desire to be paid for doing nothing. My functions, as private secretary, have wholly ceased, and I feel that I cannot be continued here upon that footing, nor do I pretend to a continuance of the salary which has attached to the situation. I shall be perfectly satisfied to continue here as a supernumerary equerry, or in another nominal situation, with or without salary.

Your Royal Highness will do me the justice to say that I have not, at any time, insinuated a wish that I should be considered as having established claims to future provision or consideration from my services in the situation which I have had the honour to hold, and your Royal Highness and others of the Royal Family know that I have never looked forward to official or civil situation as the consequence of my past employment, but that my only wish and object have been, and continue to be, to return to the duties of a profession to which I have from my childhood given a decided preference, although circumstances unsought by me, yet most gratefully experienced, have diverted me from the active prosecution of them.

In proof of this, I need only recall to your Royal Highness's recollection that at a period during the present calamity, when the early termination of the King's sufferings was apprehended, I had obtained your sanction, in such event, to join my regiment in Portugal.

I must apologize to your Royal Highness for troubling you at so much length, and will request your favour to submit this letter, or such part of it as you think proper, to the Prince Regent; your Royal Highness will also oblige me by showing it to Mr. Perceval, if you should have an opportunity of doing so, before I wait upon him in obedience to the Queen's Commands on Tuesday.

I have, etc., etc.,

H. TAYLOR.

Colonel Taylor's memorandum, dated December 31st to January 5th, 1812, referring to the arrangements of the Royal Household is as follows:—

December 31st, 1811.—Came to town and waited upon the Duke of York at 12, went with him to the Prince Regent at a quarter before 1, and delivered the letter from the Queen, and other papers; stayed with His Royal Highness (the Duke of York present) until a quarter before 4 p.m. reading the papers and talking over the arrangements proposed for the King's Household and the Queen's objections to that proposed, His Majesty's private concerns, the situation of the Princesses, etc.

Went with the Duke of York from Carlton House to Mr. Perceval, and as he was in council the Duke left me there. Mr. Perceval came in soon after, and I stayed with him while he read the Queen's answer to his proposal, and some memoranda which I had brought with me relative to claims on the King's Privy Purse, salaries of pages, etc.

He discussed the subject fully, explained the principle upon which he had prepared the arrangements proposed, refuting the Queen's objections to the prominent features of it, proved to me by various documents that his calculations had been liberal, and that it had been his object to pay every attention to the comfort of the Queen and her family, and desired me to explain this to the Queen, whose letter he would answer to the same effect.

He also explained to me fully the footing on which it had been his object, in conformity to the wishes of the Family, to place me; in fact, to create any office or situation which would authorize my continuation in the King's Household. . . .

January 1st.—On my return to Windsor I reported to the Queen and explained all that had passed, but was disappointed in finding her so wedded to the idea of a distinct and separate establishment for herself, as not to be disposed to admit that Mr. Perceval's proposal was reasonable or such as would relieve her from difficulty or embarrassment; and she laid great stress on the preference given to the Princesses, to whom separate establishments were to be granted *now*, although the King never meant they should have them until after his death.

I did not attempt any direct argument, but thought it best to meet Her Majesty's objections, loose and ill-founded as they were, by observations given as *matter of information*, which were calculated to refute them. The Queen was friendly and gracious, but evidently not pleased with the result of my negotiations, nor did the Duke of York, who was with her afterwards, succeed in removing her objections. The Prince Regent, as well as the Dukes of York and Cambridge and the Princesses in general, admitted the propriety and liberality of Mr. Perceval's plan.

January 2nd.—Waited upon the Queen by Her Commands;

found Her Majesty still averse to the plan, but in consequence of a letter just received from Mr. Perceval, disposed to think he would not make any change. I strengthened this impression by the opinion I gave, and after some further discussion on the subject, and very detailed explanation on my part of the principle of the plan, its various features and circumstances which applied to its adoption and execution, had the satisfaction to find that the Queen seemed disposed to view it more favourably, and I concluded from all that passed that her objections, though not removed, were nevertheless so much weakened that on further reflection she would probably acquiesce in the propriety of what was proposed.

Her Majesty had answered Mr. Perceval's letter to a certain extent, but agreed to appoint him to come here on Sunday next that she might have a personal communication with him, and desired me to write a note for her signature to that effect.

January 3rd.—Went at 12 to Carlton House; saw the Prince, who entirely approved of Mr. Perceval's plan as now explained, and thought the Queen could have no well-grounded objection; continued an hour with the Prince (the Dukes of York and Cambridge and Mr. Adam¹ present). He talked over the plan, told Mr. Adam that the commission for inquiring into His Majesty's private property should consist of four, and that I should be one, and desired him to state this to Mr. Perceval; also desired me to suggest to the Queen the appointment of Captain Stephenson to be secretary to Lord Winchelsea, or rather to a Board consisting of his Lordship, his deputy and me, and to propose it to Mr. Perceval.

I went with Mr. Adam to Mr. Perceval, to whom I read the minutes I had submitted to the Queen of my former conversation with him. He readily acquiesced in the Prince's proposal that I should be one of the private commission. . . .

I returned to Windsor in the afternoon. The Queen approved of what had been settled in regard to the private commission, and my being named private secretary, and said she would consider as to the employment of Captain Stephenson.

January 5th.—Another long conversation with the Queen, who appeared to me more reconciled to the general arrangement—entered into the various details with certain satisfaction and interest, and approved of the various suggestions.

Mr. Perceval came twenty minutes before his time, and I prepared him for the Queen's conversation on certain material points.

¹ Attorney-General to the Prince Regent—afterwards Lord Chief Commissioner to the Scottish Jury Court.

He went to Her Majesty at 1 and returned in about an hour, expressing himself perfectly satisfied with her gracious reception of him, in the course of which she had thanked him more than once for the trouble he had taken in making an arrangement which so amply provided for everything and so effectually relieved her from trouble and responsibility.

H. TAYLOR.

QUEEN CHARLOTTE to THE PRINCE REGENT.

Windsor. January 9th, 1812.

MY DEAREST SON,

Talking over with Colonel Taylor the present arrangements, by which, of course, some expense must fall upon me, which is most just, to those of my servants who would suffer by it, I thought it right to send for Mr. Mathias, who is quite *au fait* with my affairs, to have an interview with Colonel Taylor who very kindly informed him of everything, and as his report to me appears not to coincide with Mr. Perceval's provision for me, he will, by my orders, state to him the difficulties which seem to arise upon that subject to-morrow.

I think it but justice to you who have been so very liberal upon this subject, to make you acquainted with the step I have taken, feeling there was no time to be lost, and also being convinced that what is in your power to promote, you will, with your affection for me do what you can.

I beg to be understood that I do not mean to ask what is unreasonable, as you very well know that I am always desirous to pay my servants myself. . . . I beg pardon for this additional trouble, and subscribe myself, my dearest son,

Your most affectionate mother and friend,

CHARLOTTE.

The following letter shows that although Queen Charlotte was not in the habit of meddling with affairs political, she yet felt keenly that it was her duty to uphold "the King's party"—or at least to resent a personal friend actively joining the Opposition. General Sir Brent Spencer had been King George's A.D.C. and a great favourite of his.

QUEEN CHARLOTTE to COLONEL TAYLOR.

Windsor. February 4th, 1813.

SIR,

At my arrival in London the Prince told me that Sir Brent Spencer was to come into Parliament—at least, it was strongly reported so—in the room of his cousin, Mr. Canning, and to declare himself in opposition.

This was confirmed by the Duke of York and Lord Liverpool. They two latter do think that a letter from you to Sir Brent Spencer as a friend, would be the best means to finding the truth to this report, in which, of course, you will not fail to hint the uneasiness it would give me, and the awkward situation it would put me into; for knowing his attachment to the family, and what all have ever felt for him, it cannot be believed by any of them, till it comes from himself . . .

CHARLOTTE.

Correspondence between Queen Charlotte and the Prince Regent.

QUEEN CHARLOTTE to THE PRINCE REGENT.

Windsor. May 13th, 1812.

MY DEAREST SON,

I enclose my letter of invitation to Charlotte which, after you have perused it, and approved of it, you will send to her. But I must just mention that the Princess's birthday will be next Sunday, and that it would be a great satisfaction to my mind if you would give orders to Lady de Clifford what she is to do on that day. I am ignorant whether the day is to be kept on the real day or Monday, either of which she might go and pay her duty to her mother, and neither you nor myself be suspected to keep her from the Princess, which, at the present time, would be a remark liable to be made.

We rejoice to hear from Sir H. Halford that your health has not essentially suffered from the horrible shock of Monday,¹ and return you many thanks for your attention in sending him to Windsor, where his advice was both welcome and necessary for both your sisters Elizabeth and Sophia, and I have the satisfaction to say that both seem better for his prescription.

I will only add my sincere wishes that you may soon be out of all your difficulties, and believe me, my dearest son,

Your affectionate mother and sincere friend,

CHARLOTTE.

(Enclosure.)

Windsor. May 13th, 1812.

MY DEAREST CHARLOTTE,

Being prevented coming to town as I had intended to do to-day, when I should have had the pleasure of seeing you, and to invite you personally, with the Prince's leave, to come

¹ Mr. Perceval, the Prime Minister, had been assassinated on the 11th, in the lobby of the House of Commons.

to Windsor on Friday next for some days, I now must do the same by this letter, and hope to see you on that day, or even to-morrow, if the Prince has no objection to it, as at all times and at all hours you are welcome to your most

Affectionate grandmother and sincere friend,
CHARLOTTE.

THE PRINCE REGENT *to* QUEEN CHARLOTTE.

September 11th, 1812.

. . . Although my poor hand is still so painful that I can scarcely hold my pen, I cannot resist, my dearest mother, returning you (in my own writing and as well as I am able) my best and most grateful thanks for your communication as well as for the very kind and considerate and (if I may be allowed to express my judgment or opinion) the very well judged and most prudent method that you have adopted, to refute and baffle this not only extraordinary (for extraordinary it would be in any one else) but most impudent fresh attempt on the part of the Princess of Wales to avail herself of my absence by an affectation, and of the most absurd and ridiculous nature, which she never did feel, and is totally incapable of feeling, to create discord or confusion in the family, under the pretence of seeing her daughter.

I shall most certainly have the happiness of seeing you, and being with you early to-morrow evening—I say evening, that you may not have the trouble of waiting dinner for me; and that you may not have any solicitude upon that head, I mean to take an early dinner on the road; and it is my intention to summon Lord Liverpool to come to me at Windsor on Sunday morning, when both in your presence, as well as in private, I shall give him the most distinct and declaratory orders upon this subject, in order to put a final close to the possibility even of our ever again being plagued or distressed by communications of this most mischievous and intriguing *Infernale*, for such I am sure she has been to me, and to the whole family, ever since we have been cursed with having her in this country.

I am, my dearest mother,
Your most affectionate and dutiful son,
GEORGE P.R.

THE PRINCE REGENT *to* QUEEN CHARLOTTE.

Carlton House.
Tuesday Night, December 1st, 1812.

MY DEAREST MOTHER,

I have been most deeply afflicted at hearing from my sisters the strong objections which you made to their coming to

town for the purpose of going to the House of Lords. I do implore you, my dearest mother, for your own happiness, for that of my sisters, and for the peace of the whole family, not to suffer the repetition of scenes so distressing and so painful to all of us.

You know that the plan which I have been desirous of seeing adopted for my sisters and daughter was not taken up by me without thorough consideration with such parties of my family as I am in the habit of consulting on private affairs, nor without the approbation of Lord Liverpool, in the first instance, and, since his return to town, of the Lord Chancellor.

When I saw you at Windsor I understood you to have agreed to the proposal, and I was confirmed in the opinion by the communication I received of your desire that my sisters should sleep at Buckingham House when they came to town, and that in the event of the Princess of Wales attempting to come into my box at the play or the opera it should not be expected that *they* should personally interfere, to both of which conditions I entirely agreed.

Since I first communicated with you on the subject, very strong additional reasons have occurred which render it indispensably necessary that Charlotte should have the advantage of the countenance and apparent protection of some part of my own family when she is to be seen in public.

These reasons shall be explained to you at an early opportunity. In the mean time, I rely with confidence that you will not throw any further obstacles in the way of a plan which I feel so essential to the comfort and happiness of our family.

From unfortunate circumstances I have, in addition to public difficulties, more private ones to contend against than fall to the lot of most persons in situations similar to my own. I trust that you will have the kindness to assist and support me in surmounting them, and afford me the means of showing to the world that the greater number of our family are united in sentiment and affection.

I am, my dearest mother,
Ever your most affectionate son,
GEORGE P.R.

QUEEN CHARLOTTE to THE PRINCE REGENT.

Frogmore. December 2nd, 1812.

MY DEAREST SON,

I want words to express my obligations to you for the letter I have just received, and although I am desirous to return to the Castle as soon as possible, I am anxious to profit by the opportunity afforded me to be explicit upon so painful a subject as that of your sisters.

I never did oppose their going to town at any time, and did tell them so, one and all; but I did, and do now at this moment, object to their going to London when I feel it more decent that, in their situation, as personal witnesses of the distressing situation of their father, they should, upon particular occasions decline appearing in public.

This was the case on Saturday, when the Duke of York brought your message, and upon Augusta informing me of it I immediately gave to her, as well as to Elizabeth, my reasons against it, which I am convinced, if you reflect one moment, can by no means injure me in the world.

You will allow that your appearance in the House which was your duty to do is, in reality, more melancholy than the King's death.

Can there be, I appeal to your own feelings, a more painful, a more horrible situation, than the one your father labours under? And was it not my duty to state to your sisters, that they having no personal duty which calls upon their presence at the House of Lords, it would show more attention to female delicacy to decline it, but left it to their option to do as they pleased.

For your own daughter there could be no doubt about her going; she could not have those feelings that the aunts ought to have, and which as they did so, appears to me a full declaration to the world that the King can never recover, and which you will know not even any of the physicians have ever ventured to declare.

I come now to the other part of your letter about the Princesses appearing with Charlotte. To that I did agree as far as sometimes, but not every week; as you must be sensible that with the small society I have here, I should by that be left almost all alone, as the whole number left when two are gone are only five.

I own I was surprised that Lord Liverpool's paper did not strike your pride as it did mine, when I saw the method in which he disposes and settles the manner of the Royal Family appearing in public. I said nothing at the time, but felt most amazingly offended, and cannot suppress it any longer.

As to the representation your sisters have made of what did pass on Sunday night before they left Windsor, I am ignorant of; but I will not deny (though I do not mean to justify my own conduct) that the answer I received from Mary, when I found fault with her for not even telling me she intended to go, provoked me to the quick, for she assured me she could no longer lead the life she had led, and that Sir H. Halford was of the same opinion, and when Elizabeth, by defending her own conduct, struck upon a book, saying she had done all in her own power to please, it provoked me; in short, this last journey of

theirs has given a blow which cannot easily be effaced; for the coming to ask my advice, and hearing my objections, and not following them, is treating me like a fool.

The telling me that living with me in my distress is disagreeable, and to repeat to anybody that which concerns the interior of a family, is more than imprudent.

You have now my whole confession. I have not spared myself, consequently, it must be sincere; and having made you my father confessor, I do desire that no brothers or sisters nor any Minister may say more upon this subject. . . .

As to Ministers, they can have nothing to do with it, at least if they do, I shall stop them short.

I promise you I will keep peace. I am conscious I have often made it when it was least expected; but I do not always meet with it again, why, I feel you can easily imagine—to forget it is out of my power, but I will do what I can, for it is so hard a blow that only I can feel.

I am truly grieved to learn that there should have occurred further unpleasant circumstances from another quarter.

That you may never feel what I feel now is the sincere wish of, my dearest son,

Your ever most affectionate mother,

CHARLOTTE.

PRINCE REGENT *to* QUEEN CHARLOTTE.

Carlton House, December 3rd, 1812.

MY EVER DEAREST MOTHER,

I have this moment received your letter, and most affectionately request that you will tranquillize your mind until an opportunity occurs of full explanation on all that has passed.

I am particularly grieved at the feelings of dissatisfaction which you have manifested towards my sisters, whose general conduct has been so truly proper and affectionate, and who have no object upon the present occasion but to meet wishes which were expressed by me in consequence of the best view which I could entertain of my duty to my family and to the public.

With regard to the conduct of my Ministers, as the interests of the Royal Family must be always connected in a degree with those of the public, I think there are circumstances under which it is their duty to submit their advice even upon family affairs.

If they did it improperly, or without sufficient reason, I should certainly check them, but in the present instance, the state of our family generally, and the situation of my daughter in particular, appeared to me fully to justify it, and I have no

doubt they would not have presumed to offer it, if they had not thought it their duty to do so upon public grounds.

I hope, my dearest mother, I may be able to see you at Windsor very shortly, and if I am prevented from coming there I shall be ready to communicate to you the circumstances to which I alluded in my last letter, in any manner which may be most agreeable to you.

I beg to assure my dearest mother of my constant and invariable affection, with which I remain,

Your ever most affectionate and dutiful son,

GEORGE P.R.

QUEEN CHARLOTTE *to* PRINCE REGENT.

Windsor. December 3rd, 1812.

MY DEAREST SON,

I have just received your letter which is in every respect so affectionate to your family as well as to myself that it requires my sincerest thanks. Upon the different matters it contains you must allow me not to say any more at present, but to assure you that I long to see you and converse with you most impatiently, and am ready, in case that the multitude of business at this present moment should make it inconvenient for you to come to Windsor, that I shall not make any difficulty in going to London for the day, and where I shall be happy to assure you by word of mouth how sincerely I am, my dearest son,

Your ever affectionate and sincere friend,

CHARLOTTE.

PRINCE REGENT *to* QUEEN CHARLOTTE.

Carlton House. Sunday, December 6th, 1812.

MY DEAREST MOTHER,

The state of my hand and fingers still compel me to make this mode of returning you my best and most affectionate thanks and acknowledgments for your very kind congratulations on the great and glorious news from Russia, of which I have, under Providence, the heartfelt consolation, without unbecoming vanity, to ascribe in a great degree to my own original and indefatigable endeavours in drawing that Power to those measures which have been since pursued with such signal success.

And I cannot but avail myself of this opportunity, my dearest mother, to observe that however promising it may be of the highest advantage, it is only by the happy and united exertions of our own family (in which I confidently trust and rely), in the improvement of every favour which Heaven may

grant us, that the blessings for which we all alike pray can ever be ultimately attained.

I remain, my dearest mother,
Your most dutiful and most affectionate son,
GEORGE P.R.

PRINCE REGENT *to* QUEEN CHARLOTTE.

Carlton House. Friday, December 11th, 1812.

MY DEAREST MOTHER,

I have the happiness again to congratulate you on the additional fresh and glorious news of the 30th ult., which has been received from Russia, by which it appears that General Angereau (nephew of the Marshal of that name) with a corps of the enemy consisting of 2000 men and a considerable train of Artillery, had on the 14th ult. laid down their arms (the first French army in a body that had done so) and surrendered to the Russians near Smolensk.

This brilliant exploit still further strengthens the sanguine hope we all continue so ardently to pray for—a happy and blessed termination to our just endeavours.

Having, my dear mother, so kindly suggested your obliging willingness (in case I might not be able to go to Windsor) to come up to town and see me, and as I have been obliged from an attack of gout to postpone my Levée till Monday, and which, however, I may find it necessary to further put off, it will still leave me a free day to myself on Tuesday.

May I therefore entreat, my dearest mother, that you will have the goodness to come up to town accordingly for that purpose on Tuesday next the 15th inst.

I remain, my dearest mother,
Your ever most affectionate and most dutiful son,
GEORGE P.R.

QUEEN CHARLOTTE *to* THE PRINCE REGENT.

Windsor Castle. March 24th, 1813.

MY DEAREST SON,

I have just received Sir Henry Halford's letter written by your order, to acquaint me of the poor Duchess of Brunswick's death, for which I return you many thanks.

She went off quicker than I expected, though her illness seized me at once as fatal when I did hear of it yesterday, and I fear very much that she, having strong feelings at all times, has hurried her end by suppressing them upon the distressing and unfortunate family affairs, for she has never named the Investigation to any one. I beg leave to mention that it will be right for you to make them search in the Lord Chamberlain's office for the interment of Princess Elizabeth, the King's

The death
of the
Duchess
of Bruns-
wick.

sister, she being a daughter of the Prince of Wales, and compare it with that of the late Princess Amelia, who was the daughter of the King—and they will learn by that if there was any difference in the ceremony; and as one of the Royal Family you will, of course have her buried in one of the royal vaults, either Westminster or at Windsor—the latter place Colonel Taylor thinks was the King's desire she should be deposited in.

Your mourning, of course, must be that for a mother, and Charlotte the same, with bombazine. The public places must be shut, as she is one of the family, until the interment, and of course you will have no Levée during that time.

I have ordered Colonel Taylor to send the Duchess's will, which is the original, to the Lord Chancellor, as I know he is a trustee, in which I hope I have done right, for it must be read before you can order anything, in case she could have expressed any wish about the burial.

Madame de Neckel's letter is full of regret, and indeed, at this present moment all confusion and hurry. I know their circumstances to be but indifferent, and as their attachment made them follow the Duchess and leave their own country, you may perhaps hereafter consider them as deserving of your notice. This is *entre nous*.

I hope that nothing will prevent my seeing you on Thursday, when I shall rejoice to hear that all is gone off as you could wish in the House of Commons, and that this trying business may soon be ended is the earnest prayer of, my dearest son,

Your ever affectionate mother and sincere friend,

CHARLOTTE.

Early in this year (1813), Colonel Taylor became a Major-General, and in the following November, with the permission of Queen Charlotte, was sent out by the Government to Holland after the rise of the Dutch against Napoleon Buonaparte, an account of which is given in the next chapter.

CHAPTER VII

THE CAMPAIGN IN THE NETHERLANDS, 1813-14

The Revolt of the Dutch against Napoleon—The Auxiliary Corps from England—The Russian and Prussian Contingents—Major-General Taylor's Notes, and Correspondence with the Duke of York, Lord Bathurst, Sir Thomas Graham, Lord Yarmouth, and others—Difficulties connected with the garrisoning of Breda—The first Movement on Antwerp.

IN November, 1813, the Dutch rose in revolt against Buonaparte. This happened at a fortunate moment, for it undoubtedly facilitated the threatening invasion of France by the Allies.¹

Since 1810 the Netherlands had been annexed to France; but the disasters to the French arms in 1812 and 1813, culminating in the battle of Leipsic, had caused not only Holland but almost all Germany to declare against Napoleon.

On November 15th, 1813, the people of Amsterdam rose in a body, and with the old cry of "Orange Boven" universally put up the Orange colours, proclaiming anew the sovereignty of that House.

On November 18th, the French Generals—Arrighi and Le Brun—abandoned the town, and a provisional Government was formed with M. de Hogendorp as President, until the arrival of the Prince of Orange as Stadtholder.

The news of the Dutch revolution was received with very great enthusiasm in England, where the Prince of Orange and his family had been residing since 1795. The Prince quitted the British shores on November 25th, arriving at Scheveningen on the 30th, and he made his formal entry into Amsterdam on December 2nd.

Some days before the departure of the Prince from England the British Government had determined to send an auxiliary force to Holland under the command of Sir Thomas Graham (afterwards Lord Lynedoch) with the object of helping the Dutch, and assisting in the general expulsion of the French from the Netherlands if possible. It was quite a small force;

¹ The main armies of Austria, Russia, and Prussia who were to advance from the direction of the Upper Rhine.

at first numbering 6000 men, but afterwards increased to about 9000.

There were, however, two strong corps, one (Russian) under General Winzingerode, and the other (Prussian) under General Bülow, which were at this time taking up positions in Holland and in the neighbourhood of the Lower Rhine.

Both these corps formed a portion of the third allied army (the Army of the North) under the command of Bernadotte the Crown Prince of Sweden. Early in December, before the arrival of Sir T. Graham, a party of Cossacks under General Constantine Benckendorff (detached by General Winzingerode) had taken and occupied Breda; various other towns beside Amsterdam had been entered; some forts had been taken, and Bülow, advancing towards the Meuse, was soon to act in co-operation with Graham against the French before Antwerp.

This co-operation, however, was only temporary, for both Bülow and Winzingerode received orders to join Blücher's army in France, a decision mainly brought about by the influence of Lord Castlereagh at the Conference of the Allies, when he urgently demanded that Blücher should be strengthened in this manner, even at the risk of offending Bernadotte, whose military actions were now guided to a great extent by political considerations personally affecting himself.

Major-General Taylor, eager for active service, had obtained permission from Queen Charlotte for a short leave of absence, and was instructed by the Government to proceed to Holland in advance of Sir Thomas, to communicate with the newly formed Dutch Provisional Government, and to make arrangements preparatory to the landing of the British troops.

He took a prominent part in the Netherland campaign, and, during his stay, had the command of two brigades under Sir Thomas Graham, with whom he was throughout in close touch until his return to England.

Graham's opinion of Major-General Taylor's services is shown by the following extract from a letter he wrote during the campaign to Colonel Bunbury:—

Rosendaal. January 15th, 1814.

“ . . . I forget whether I ever mentioned General Skerritt having broken the small bone of his leg by a fall from his horse. I gave the brigade to General Taylor, who would soon bring it into order, could I get the regiment together; but I am forced to scatter that brigade hitherto. I never met General Taylor before. He goes beyond all that I had heard of him. There is nobody I should wish more to keep. He will be a most serious loss to us when he is forced to return. He would make an excellent *chef d'état major* to any Army. His judgment and arrangement are so clear and good on all occasions, and he

seems to like service as if he had always lived in a camp instead of a court."

General Taylor kept a daily record of his doings in small pencil notebooks, from which a few extracts are here given, together with some of the correspondence that passed between him and the Duke of York, Lord Bathurst, Sir Thomas Graham, and others during the campaign. They include his mission to Bernadotte—a mission which was undertaken with the idea of promoting a more determined attack upon Antwerp, which, however, subsequent events of the war rendered needless.

These notes and letters of which I have endeavoured to retain only what may be of interest to the reader in following the campaign—omitting technical details—date from the end of November, 1813, to the middle of April following.

*Major-General Taylor's Notes and Correspondence in the
Netherland Campaign, 1813-1814.*

November 21st, 1813.—Received orders at Oatlands to prepare for starting immediately for coast of Holland—returned to Windsor—received the Queen's consent, arranged papers, etc.

November 22nd.—Came to London at 3 p.m. Could not see Lord Bathurst¹ until half-past five—told I was to proceed to coast of Holland to collect all possible information respecting means and resources of the Dutch insurgents—forces and stations of the enemy—practicability and securest points for landing the troops ordered for embarkation, and to report accordingly—that 20,000 arms, etc., would sail immediately, and troops follow on further report from me and Colonel Fagel,² who was ordered to embark in the "Jason"³ and to communicate from thence with the Dutch authorities.

Lord Bathurst asked when I could go, and upon my stating I was ready, said it was very desirable I should overtake Colonel Fagel, who had left London about three hours. Went to York House—took leave of the Duke of York—wrote to Colonel McMahan to account for my not waiting on the P.R.—received Lord Bathurst's letter at twenty before seven and started at seven as soon as chaise ready.

November 23rd.—Arrived at Harwich at 7 a.m. Colonel Fagel arrived before noon. He is accompanied by Mr. Gevers,

¹ Minister of War and the Colonies.

² One of the Dutch deputies negotiating with the British Government for assistance.

³ The same frigate that was, some eight months later, to carry the Princess of Wales across the Channel, when starting on her wanderings.

a Dutchman, last arrived from Holland and London, a person of some weight at Rotterdam.

Harwich, November 24th.—Soon after 12, Mr. Repelin, a member of the new Government of the Hague, had arrived in a schuyt, having left the Hague on the morning of the 21st. His language was very despondent. He stated that all parties in Holland called for the Prince of Orange, but that the insurrection had been premature, and that he fancied it would fail without immediate assistance from the Allies in Germany or from England.

He hinted that the members of the new Government had different views, and that jealousy prevailed in it—that only a few hundred Cossacks had appeared on the line of the Yssel—that messengers had been successively sent to the Allied Armies in Germany urging the necessity of early support.

In the evening Captain May, formerly of the Dutch Navy, arrived with a very different report. He stated that 5000 men had been recently raised at Rotterdam, and that proportional exertions had been made at the Hague and at Amsterdam, and that if they had arms and ammunition they could at once proceed to active measures towards extricating themselves. Towards 7 o'clock we learnt that the "Jason" had appeared in the bay.

LORD BATHURST to GENERAL TAYLOR.

Downing Street. November 24th.

. . . I am very sorry that the contrary wind has prevented the transports with arms getting round, as it is of the utmost importance that they should arrive as soon as possible. It will be very desirable that you should proceed with Colonel Fagel to the Hague, and you will press upon the Government the expediency of their occupying, in the best way they can, every strong place which the enemy have evacuated, particularly the Helder, and you will advise them to hoist the Orange flag in all places which may be so evacuated. . . .

BATHURST.

LORD BATHURST to GENERAL TAYLOR.

Downing Street. November 25th.

. . . The accounts brought from Holland by Mr. May were not very satisfactory. I enclose you *Gazette* which will be more so, as it shows beyond all doubt that the Allies¹ are advancing upon Holland, and there is a letter from Blücher's Quartermaster-General saying that his army was to march down upon Holland too.

¹ The troops of Winzingerode and Bülow which were a portion of the Third Allied Army under the supreme command of Bernadotte.

Do not mind risking a few arms. If it is even to get 5000 safe, I would willingly consent to lose 5000 in the trial. I mention this that you may not feel obliged to be over-cautious in that particular. . . .

BATHURST.

Harwich. November 27th.—Ordnance transports in sight at daybreak, and ordered by Captain King to anchor close to us to be ready for tide. We had proposed unloading one into "Jason" and proceeding with 5000 arms, etc., leaving the rest to follow with the "Mercurius," but found it impracticable from want of ballast in transport, and of room for ammunition in frigate. Weighed at 1.30 p.m.

GENERAL TAYLOR to DUKE OF YORK.

Hague. December 3rd.

. . . Colonel Fagel and I landed at Schevening yesterday towards 1 p.m. after making every arrangement for the secure and correct delivery of the arms. 10,000 of the arms, etc., were landed yesterday evening and conveyed to Delft; the transports conveying the rest had been left to follow under charge of the "Mercurius" and did not reach anchorage until this day. The wind which had delayed our passage had favoured the arrangements off shore.

The Prince of Orange and Lord Clancarty¹ were at Amsterdam when we arrived here; but I saw Count Stierum the Governor, and I cannot say that his account of the exertions made since the first breaking out of the revolution was very satisfactory. The arms we had brought he knew not to whom to entrust; the ardour of the *Gardes Nationales* and Burghers had been relaxed and in some measure cowed by an unsuccessful affair at Woerden, in which they had rashly engaged; the batch of Prussian deserters are a set of disorderly devils, under no control, and more dangerous as friends than as enemies; in short, the best protection here until this morning was a detachment of 200 Marines, landed by Admiral Ferrier, and yet the arms we had brought were conveyed to Delft in advance, and while I believe there were no posts to secure that town or this against surprise, no progress whatever had been made in organizing the population disposed to take arms—no system of proceeding—even had ever been apparently contemplated. I speak merely of the state of things here and in the neighbourhood as I gathered it from M. de Stierum and others well informed.

The Allies had crossed the Yssel with a greater portion of cavalry than infantry, and had not, or could not, extend their

¹ Previously Master of the Mint, and then President of the Board of Trade. He was now appointed Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to the Prince of Orange.



posts to the mouth of the Meuse. The French had on their approach retired from Utrecht, and Arnheim had subsequently been carried by storm by the Prussians; the Briell was taken the day before yesterday by some armed peasants, but an attempt yesterday upon Helvoet had failed. The enemy occupied Gorcum in force, Helvoet and the adjoining islands, though not in great strength; the troops from Arnheim had fallen back on Nymeguen.

Such was, and in some measure still is, the general state of affairs; and you will judge from this brief detail that this point was not by any means secured; but all uneasiness has been removed by the appearance off Schevening of the troopships conveying the Brigade of the Guards (which will, I hope, land early to-morrow), and by the arrival and disembarcation of 400 Marines from Admiral Young's fleet.

I shall know more of what is going on and intended a short time hence, as Lord Clancarty, who returned from Amsterdam this afternoon, brought me an invitation to dine with the Prince of Orange. I perceive from a few hints he dropped that there

is a disposition to fritter away our troops, to employ part against the Helder, part against Helvoet, etc., but I conclude that if Sir T. Graham does not immediately come with the remaining force, General Cooke will not feel at liberty so to apply the Brigade of Guards.

General Bülow comes to-morrow or this evening, and some plan of operation is to be concerted with him and General Benckendorff who commands the Russians now in advance. . . .

. . . I am just returned from the Prince of Orange, where we did not sit down to dinner till 9 owing to continued introductions and interruptions, which he bore with great good humour, although he seems almost worn out with the worry and fatigue he has undergone since his arrival. He received me very graciously, and I had some conversation with him respecting the necessary arrangements for the supplies of our troops, upon which he afterwards referred me to Mr. Piepers, who manages the War Department. . . .

I understand that when Generals Bülow and Benckendorff arrive a conference will be held, at which I am desired to assist. If I have any voice, I shall certainly protest against any separation of our small corps, or the employment of any part of it, until the arrival of Sir Thomas Graham, and until it is equipped for taking the field; and I shall dwell on the importance of the service already rendered by the protection which it affords to the Hague and the country between it and the Meuse as far as Gorcum. If troops are wanted for *desultory* operations in the rivers in aid of the Navy, the large proportions of Marines in the Fleet may be considered more applicable and better suited to them. Of these there are actually 500 in this place.

Our landing yesterday at Schevening, from the motley group which received us on the shore, the number of schuyts sailing about the ships with Orange flags and sails, and the grotesque demonstrations of joy, particularly those from the women, represented a harlequin farce. Fagel, who was soon recognized, was almost smothered with kisses. Lord Yarmouth passed for an English Prince (in the Lord Lieutenant's uniform), and Barclay¹ was amused beyond all measure with all he saw. The same farce has continued here, and particularly this evening when I went with Lord Clancarty to the Prince of Orange.

I have given a commission for a couple of saddle horses, but shall not purchase them until I can judge what plan our operations may take.

General Graham's corps will not be very efficient at first. Bülow's of 15,000 men is much extended, and Benckendorff's is inconsiderable.

¹ Colonel Barclay, General Taylor's A.D.C.

I have understood that Blücher's army, which was expected, has been directed towards Mayence, and that Bernadotte's attention is taken up with the Danes. From the Dutch we can expect nothing for some months but cries of "Orange Boven," and for some time after, nothing but garrison troops.

Want of
energy
among the
Dutch.

There is a strange want of energy and activity in their nature, or, if they possess either, a long time is required to rouse them. On the other hand, from all I can gather, their hatred of the French and their desire to shake off their yoke is very general, and has for the moment united all parties in favour of the Prince of Orange. This disposition has been manifested at Amsterdam and Rotterdam perhaps more strongly than here. In Rotterdam, for instance, there were two clubs long at variance—the Orange and the Patriotic; and these have united on this occasion. . . .

Your Royal Highness will, I flatter myself, excuse this scrawl, written in a public room, very cold, and amidst constant interruption. . . .

H. TAYLOR.

P.S.—No person can be more kind and friendly than the Prince is to me and Barclay, and I get on very well with the Prussians and Russians and the Dutch seigneurs. I hope Y.R.H. sees my letters to Lord B. I would send copies, but my friend Barclay is a very slow scribe, and what with writing nearly everything myself, and with constant interruptions, I am very much hurried—up by daylight and seldom in bed much before two.

We are so little advanced in any measure of defence that the retreat of General Bülow to the Yssel would expose the Prince of Orange and this people to the loss of all that has been recovered, for a period at least, and to every sort of vexation before reinforcements can arrive. In fact, the very movements in contemplation will have the effect of drawing the enemy upon us unless they are speedily supported, and nothing can be done towards Antwerp until our troops take a share, which at this season may well be impracticable.

MEMORANDUM OF WHAT PASSED AT THE PRINCE OF ORANGE'S.

Hague. December 5th, 1813.

Present : His Serene Highness. Lord Clancarty.
General Bülow. General Benckendorff.
General Pfhul. Colonel Boyer.
Major-General Taylor.

General Pfhul produced a paper of general principles as to

means offensive and defensive—direction of operations, and a general concert of measures. . . .

General Benckendorff stated it to be his intention to cross the Meuse at Dort, and advance directly upon Breda, with the hope of carrying it by a *coup de main*. He stated that he was better provided with cavalry than infantry, but that his means were small.

General Bülow stated he had about 15,000 men extended along the Yssel, the Lek, and the Rhine, as far as Dusseldorf and even Ehrenbreitestein, and was masking Yssel and Arnheim on the Lek in greater force, but from want of shoes and other necessaries he would not commence any regular operations in less than eight or ten days, but that he would immediately make reconnaissances across the Waal and Meuse in the direction by which he meant to operate; that he could not think of garrisoning any place adequately as he would require the whole of his force in the field, but that he hoped shortly to be joined by new levies and detachments from the rear, which would increase his corps to 30,000 men, and he trusted that he should be relieved in the blockade of Yssel, and possibly that the operations towards Dutch Flanders and Brabant would be supported by Generals Thulman and Kleist. Bülow's statement

The probability of this last position was at this time weakened by the arrival of information from Frankfort that the Grand Austrian and Russian Army was directing itself on Manheim and Basle, to cross the Rhine and operate by Switzerland, and that General Blücher would remain between Frankfort and Mentz. .

General Benckendorff on this, strongly urged that no calculation should be made on means not actually at hand or positively expected, in which all concurred.

General Bülow proceeded to state that his plan was to *déboucher* in two columns—the principal to pass the Waal, to cross the islands of Bommel, and thence to pass the Meuse near Heusden, of which place and Gertruydenberg he would endeavour to possess himself.

The lesser column to cross the Waal near Nymeguen, to leave one battalion there, and thence to unite with the larger, in order (according to circumstances) to move in the direction of Brussels—General Benckendorff and the British troops, as they came up, moving parallel on his right, so that if a retreat should become necessary, the line of it, and that of defence, would be between Gertruydenberg and Heusden in order to preserve the communication with the Yssel, for which reason also it was necessary to occupy Arnheim during his advance. It was further agreed that Utrecht should be considered the central point of communication with the interior, and for the formation of the Dutch levies and other arrangements. . . .

General Bülow's idea was that, whenever he could move on Brussels, the British corps would direct itself on Bruges, and it seemed to be understood that General Benckendorff's corps should remain in close connection with the British troops, which also appeared to be the anxious wish of the Russian general.

(Signed) H. TAYLOR,
Major-General.

December 6th.—Goree occupied by armed Dutch; Helvoet evacuated by enemy in the course of the night; Guards arrived and landed; saw General Cooke this morning.

December 8th.—General Cooke, in consequence of the tenour of his letter from England, determined to station the guards in the Briell and Helvoet.

GENERAL TAYLOR to DUKE OF YORK.

The Hague. December 8th.

. . . Lord Clancarty's notices of dispatching messengers are so short that I am again under the necessity of referring Y.R.H. to my communications to Lord Bathurst. I am a little at a loss what to do with myself, not liking to remain idle here, and having no positive business or duty as matters have turned out. . . .

The possession of Helvoet is a great point gained, and I hope that troops from England will now be sent to it, for at present all seems disjointed.

There appears to be no chief direction in this quarter, and every one goes his own way, but at all events the march of Winzingerode's corps in this direction will secure us.

A large army from this quarter might now strike the most important and deadly blow to France, but we must not presume too much on the enemy's continued weakness, which is too much the tone here. I am pressing for exertion and activity at the risk of being thought troublesome, but hitherto without much success, except possibly as to what may be done shortly up the Meuse. . . .

H. TAYLOR.

December 9th.—A grand fête at Rotterdam for the public reception of the Prince of Orange. I was asked, but declined on the score of business; dined at Mr. Hope's; went to the French play in the evening.

December 10th.—Dined at the Prince of Orange's, who told me he had sent officers to Voorn to organize the new levies.

GENERAL TAYLOR *to* DUKE OF YORK.

The Hague. December 10th.

. . . Nothing very particular has occurred since I last wrote, but my importunity seems to produce more exertion. Arms have been distributed and officers sent to Voorn to organize the population. The Guards are marching into the island of Voorn. . . . Admirals Young and Ferrier have sent all the frigates and brigs they can spare to Helvoet, to operate against the French flotilla, and if anything can afterwards be done against Willemstad it will be attempted, but Sir Thomas Graham had not arrived in the Scheldt on the 12th. He had better come here and endeavour to promote some well-concerted operations towards Antwerp. At present all continues disjointed, and what has occurred shows I was not mistaken in the judgment I had formed of the project entertained.

General Bülow has discovered that Gorcum and Bommell are too strong, and he too weak to attempt a grand operation; and broad rivers cannot be passed without bridges or boats; what he will do I know not—probably wait the arrival of reinforcements or the co-operation of Winzingerode.

In the meanwhile precious time is lost, and the enemy will convert into an iron position what is now one of straw.

Our supplies of all kinds are good, but I have been obliged to write a very sharp letter to the Dutch Commissary-General about the prices which I have ascertained to be exorbitant. The Commissary should have done this, but he seems helpless, and has come away without instructions. Indeed, the present corps is altogether in a very unprepared state; no officer of the Adjutant of Quartermaster-General department, no paymaster, no blankets or field equipage, not more than one horse in the whole brigade, and not an artilleryman. Under these circumstances the best thing General Cooke could do was to house his brigade safely in the island of Voorn.

Barclay, like me, longs for a little more active and interesting employment. . . .

H. TAYLOR.

GENERAL TAYLOR *to* DUKE OF YORK.

Hague. December 11th.

. . . I have the satisfaction of acquainting Y.R.H. that Breda has been taken by 300 Cossacks yesterday; the French garrison of 1000 men retiring and leaving 600 prisoners in the hands of these Cossacks—and that the enemy this day evacuated Willemstad, the garrison retiring on Berg-op-zoom. These are most extraordinary events, and the great thing is

Breda
taken by
Bencken-
dorff's
Cossacks.

now to secure and occupy these places which fall so expeditiously. I conclude General Cooke will send a battalion of the Guards to Willemstad, and I mean to suggest to him to go there himself that he may be prepared to occupy Klundert and Steenberg, in which there are hardly any French, and which will probably be evacuated on the first appearance of any troops.

Whenever Sir T. Graham brings a greater force, and the Allies advance, these places may be committed to the charge of the Dutch levies and burghers.

General Benckendorff goes to Breda to-morrow, and I conclude he takes the rest of his troops.

On Monday I shall start for the corps of Bülow and Winzingerode, and probably be about three or four days, and take Benckendorff on my way back. I shall then be able to give Sir Thomas Graham full information on his arrival. I conclude the French are collecting all they can in the Scheldt about Antwerp. . . .

H. TAYLOR.

DUKE OF YORK *to* GENERAL TAYLOR.

Horse Guards. December 9th.

. . . The want of exertion of which you complain amongst the Dutch nation is nothing new to me, and it will require, I am certain, every degree of effort with the Prince of Orange to drive them forwards, to put themselves in any degree of defence. . . .

The Government, I understand, are vastly pleased with what you have done, but a much greater force must be assembled—at least, in my opinion—as soon as possible in Hollaⁿd, in order, after rescuing Holland, to act offensively in Flanders and Brabant, especially as from the change in the plan of campaign which was originally proposed among the Allied Powers, Marshal Blücher, instead of crossing the Rhine and moving upon Metz, is to defend the banks of the Rhine, taking advantage of the course of events; while Prince Schwarzenberg with the main army is to attempt to enter the French country through Switzerland.

You receive herewith enclosures.

I am very sorry to add that I have not a very satisfactory account to give you from Windsor. Our beloved King is still going on in the same quiet way as usual, but Mary is still confined to her couch with her foot, and dearest Sophia has been very unwell ever since last Wednesday sen'night with a violent cold attended with fever, which increases every evening, and has deprived her of most of her rest. The Duke of Cambridge¹ left

¹ He had just been appointed to the military command in the electorate of Hanover.

town on Monday, and embarked on Tuesday with Count Münster¹ for Hanover. Poor fellow! I hope he will succeed in all his undertakings, as it is a great sacrifice to which he has made to his persuasion in giving up all his comforts to what he considers a public duty. . . . God bless you.

. . . FREDERICK.

MAJOR-GENERAL COOKE *to* GENERAL TAYLOR.

Briell. December 11th.

. . . Having learnt on the road from an officer of the Marines, who brought me a letter from Colonel Campbell, the evacuation of Willemstad, I purpose sending one of our battalions there from Helvoet unless I should find that any of the Russians from Rotterdam had entered it. . . . We are told here that both Bois le Duc and Berg-op-zoom have been abandoned by the French. I must confess I don't give credit to the latter, because it seems so important a point for them to retain, if they mean to hold any ground at all on their frontiers.

But they appear to be completely bothered. . . .

. . . GEORGE COOKE.

GENERAL TAYLOR *to* THE DUKE OF YORK.

The Hague. December 15th.

. . . Y.R.H. will learn from the letters sent by Mr. Jackson that the French are endeavouring to collect a force at Antwerp, and that their chief anxiety is directed to the preservation of Gorcum. . . .

Bülow is evidently afraid of committing himself in any operation which may enable the French to intercept his communication with the Yssel. On the other hand, there is the danger of both Prussians and Russians being drawn to operate to their left in support of their own principal corps in preference to the support of Holland if they move by Emmerich, which otherwise, from their superiority in cavalry, would be the wisest movement.

General Pffhul's idea relative to the defence of Holland is, that if Zeeland, the course of the Meuse, and Willemstad are in our possession, and Gorcum recovered, the further direction of the line of defence for Holland should be across the Waal and the Lek, by placing a corps with its right to Gorcum, its left to Vianen, and thence communicating with Utrecht, which should be strengthened and made tenable; and that there should be a post strongly occupied on the Yssel—that the offensive should be from the side of Emmerich, or, if possible, at

¹ Hanoverian Minister in London.

once from Nymeguen upon the right flank of the enemy; the troops from Zeeland and the mouth of the Meuse being prepared at the same time to take advantage of the circumstances, and to operate upon the left flank of the enemy.

This disposition appears to me a very rational one, and such as would be calculated to meet every exigency. The difficulty, as General Pfful observes, and as we all feel, is to establish any fixed plan or concert between people who are all independent of each other, and acknowledge no superior directing authority. This, I believe, General Pozzo di Borgo will state to be equally the case in the North of Germany, and on the Rhine.

I am not inclined to see the dark side; I think all has gone on wonderfully well, and events have occurred which the most sanguine could not have expected, but we require union of means and measures to improve and preserve the advantages obtained. . . .

. . . H. TAYLOR.

Lord Yarmouth (1777-1842), who succeeded his father as the third Marquis of Hertford in 1822, seems to have temporarily joined the Campaign in an unofficial position. He was Vice-Chamberlain in the Prince Regent's Household, and is afterwards supposed to have figured as the original for Disraeli's *Lord Monmouth* in "Coningsby." He married Maria Fagniani, a great heiress, and the adopted daughter of George Selwyn, the wit.¹

LORD YARMOUTH to GENERAL TAYLOR.

Hartinxfeld. Sunday night, December 12th.

DEAR TAYLOR,

The Burgomaster says an express goes in the morning early, so I profit by it to tell you that I got here after near eleven hours' slow travelling, having been obliged to await the passage of a Prussian free corps of 300 at two places.

My situation here is uncomfortable—the 300 Prussians stopped at Guissendan, and filled every house.

Benckendorff, who told me he should be here, went on to Gertruydenberg, and there is nothing but an advance party of 13 Prussians of Cray's corps from Utrecht (2000, the officer of the *état major* tells me, will arrive in an hour); meanwhile Gorcum is within four miles; there are some peasants watching, one of whom has frightened the boss with an alarm of a sortie—the Prussian 13 stand at the door, ready to be off in a hurry—and so am I—*on the white nag*—he stands saddled, and I spurred.

The Burgo and an intelligent merchant captain now in

¹ It was Yarmouth's son, the fourth Marquis (1800-1870), who, many years later (with the assistance of his reputed half-brother, Richard Wallace), amassed the greater part of the splendid collection of pictures and *objets d'art*, now in Hertford House.

command of a gunboat tell me that 7000 Russians, 4000 of which belong to Winzingerode's corps, have passed here to-day, between 4 in the morning and 8 in the evening. If Cray's 2000 come in, there will be more troops forward than I think you expected so soon.

Gertruydenberg is the place where Benckendorff sleeps to-night, I believe. It is said here that the Cossacks are under the walls of Antwerp. Klundert, my Burgo says, has 200 Marines only.

While writing, a company of Prussian jägers has arrived.

Ever yours,

Y.

LORD YARMOUTH to GENERAL TAYLOR.

Breda. Monday night, December 13th.

. . . I got here this afternoon, having set out at 6 in the morning, and found Benckendorff sitting down to dinner, and dined with him. General Dorsay, the French captive Commandant was there, and went into the next room with us after dinner, where were many hundreds of intercepted letters as yet unopened, many of which I read. Those from public offices, Ministers of War, etc., had already been opened, and several transmitted to Lord Clancarty. From what I read, and from what I was told, the prospect is brilliant beyond our expectation—nobody at Bois le Duc, and dissatisfaction in the extreme at Antwerp, and no troops coming. Some letters state the expectation of revolution in the Netherlands as general, and one in particular says that nobody will make anything subject to stamp duty, expecting the release from these duties from day to day; and this is in an official letter from the Directeur Général des Octrois et Timbres.

The French General is a disgusting fellow; he told us he had Moore's¹ horse off which he was killed, and that Moore had paid a thousand guineas for her in London.

The Cossacks are under the walls of Antwerp and of Berg-op-zoom—Klundert is evacuated.

I was right to be uneasy last night, and the boss was right also—a sortie in force was made to burn the faubourgs and farmhouses, which at 6 this morning made a fine sight.

All the Goreum intercepted letters talk of working parties day and night; but there seems to be little provisions.

I don't think Benckendorff will go forward in earnest these four days, so I mean to go to Willemstad if I can contrive it, to see King and somebody I know perhaps.

As ever, dear T.,

Yours,

Y.

¹ Sir John Moore.

LORD BATHURST *to* GENERAL TAYLOR.

Downing Street. December 7th.

MY DEAR GENERAL,

I am afraid there is not desperate courage enough for an emergency. Count Stierum's caution about the arms is alarming; indeed, something must be risked in order to have a chance of success; and his plan of placing the arms in depôts would make me almost suspect his attachments.

I think you have been a little too candid in the description of the troops we are sending out. They are better than any which will appear there, and you must cry them up. Their dispatch had only been delayed by contrary winds. They are all destined to the Scheldt, from thence to act as the state of events will permit. The horses which you can collect must be ready to be sent in that direction. You have judged very right in having a communication with Bülow as soon as possible.

It is to be lamented that his corps is so small. I shall desire the Admiralty to instruct Admiral Young to exert all his means against Helvoet. . . .

BATHURST.

LORD BATHURST *to* GENERAL TAYLOR.

Downing Street. December 14th.

. . . My public dispatch will, I hope, satisfy you that your conduct is approved. Sir Thomas Graham and General Gibbs have at last sailed. The latter was driven back to Yarmouth some days ago, but I trust that he and Sir Thomas will get over at last.

Much valuable time has been lost by these contrary winds. With respect to your further proceedings, they must be regulated by events—you will be of great assistance to Sir Thomas Graham. An insurrection of Brabant might enable you to be of great use there.

You are fully authorized to promise them the assistance of arms.

You know best how long you can continue to absent yourself from Windsor without giving offence. Her Majesty told me she was happy to spare you for a time. I confess I was in hopes to have received a more encouraging answer. But if there is anything material for you to do, I am sure she will not object to a more protracted stay. . . .

BATHURST.

The Arrival of Sir Thomas Graham in the Scheldt.

December 17th.—Colonel Graham arrived from Sir Thomas Graham, whom he had left in the Scheldt with the rest of the troops. I gave Colonel Graham all the information in my power. He returned to Sir Thomas this evening. Wrote by him to Sir Thomas to beg he would relieve me here, and allow me to join him during the short period of my stay in this country.

SIR THOMAS GRAHAM to GENERAL TAYLOR.

“Ulysses.” In the Roompot. December 15th.

SIR,

From a perusal of your dispatches to Lord Bathurst, I was very desirous of assembling and equipping all the troops at Helvoet; but the extraordinary and good news communicated to me by the Admiral makes me think it worth while to try what a demonstration towards Berg-op-zoom may do; and at all events the occupation of Tholen, while the weather remains open, and the fleet holds this anchorage, cannot be attended with any risk.

But I agree so entirely with your very judicious remarks on the plan proposed by General Bülow, that I do not mean by this alteration of my original intentions to pledge myself in any respect to take any further share in the plan which our allies may have already adopted, than holding Tholen and Willemstad.

I hope to be myself at Willemstad on the 17th. All the Artillery of every description was still in the Thames when I sailed, and would be directed on Helvoet.

We should have gone there too, but for the doubt of the large troopships being able to pass through the Goree Gat. I shall hope to hear from you as well as from Lord Clancarty soon, and I beg to recommend to you the bearer of this, Lieut.-Colonel Graham of the Cape Regiment, my relation, A.D.C. and military secretary, with whom you may communicate confidentially. . . .

THOMAS GRAHAM.

GENERAL TAYLOR to THE DUKE OF YORK.

The Hague. December 17th.

. . . Your R.H. will see that I went on a wild goose chase in search of Winzingerode, although I trust that the trip to Zutphen would not prove quite useless, in addition to other communications. It had nearly been my last trip anywhere, as in the dark I was within a foot of walking over the bridge into the Yssel, a descent of 40 or 50 feet.

The non-arrival of any supports or co-operation on the left is a most serious evil, and becomes doubly so since the French have reinforced themselves at Antwerp and Berg-op-zoom.

The
golden
moment
gone or
going.

The arrival of Sir Thomas Graham's force at Willemstad and Tholen is a counterpoise, but the golden moment is gone, or fast going by.

The Prussians are in the possession of the island of Bommell, Crévecoeur, St. André, and Heusden, and are marching upon Bois le Duc, but they complain of the necessity of weakening their disposable force by occupying these places, and they dread losing them as fast as they have got them, unless relieved by the exertions of the Dutch, which are little suited to the pressure of the moment.

I very much doubt their getting the citadel of Bois le Duc, and without it the possession of the town is useless.

Above all, I dread any movement of the enemy upon our left from Cleves, etc., which will send Bülow back. This would matter less if the enemy had not between three and four thousand men in Gorcum. These circumstances, however, while they effect our general position, and the integrity of what has been recovered, will not expose our own troops to any immediate risk, as the possession of Willemstad and some other strong points secures them. . . . I understand the Prince of Orange has expressed his wish that I might stay at the Hague, but I have explained this to be impossible. . . .

H. TAYLOR.

GENERAL TAYLOR to THE DUKE OF YORK.

The Hague. December 19th.

. . . The dénouement¹ of a certain meeting and arrangement has been most rapid, and yet I cannot say that any part of it has surprised me. It is very desirable on public grounds, and I sincerely wish it may answer in a domestic point of view. . . . I have brought up a few very beautiful silks for the Queen and the Duchess, which I mean to present myself on my return. . . .

We expect about 4000 Dutch soldiers from the North of Germany who will be a great acquisition, and it is understood that there are 5000 in Hamburg whom we may reckon on eventually.

I beg to enclose extracts of letters from Lord Bathurst, which will, I am certain, give you satisfaction. The private letter has, however, embarrassed me and (in consideration of what I owe to the Queen) am much puzzled how to act. I

¹ The engagement between Princess Charlotte and the Hereditary Prince of Orange.

hope you will approve of my answer, which does not commit me to anything.

My object is to do what is right, and my feelings, whether of ambition to gain credit, or private inclination, must yield to a sense of duty, public or private, in which, on this occasion, it is very difficult to draw the line.

I am very impatient to hear from Sir Thomas about my joining him; and I cannot but flatter myself that some attempt may shortly be made on Antwerp, and that it may succeed. I am prevented by delicacy from going to him until I have his permission; and indeed some officer ought to relieve me for inspection of horses, etc.

I must not omit that no person can (of late) have been more attentive and friendly than Lord Clancarty. I am now satisfied that I mistook his meaning when I took it up. . . . Y.R.H. knows that I am a little warm sometimes, and this will be a caution to me. . . .

H. TAYLOR.

December 20th.—Report from General Bülow, dated Bommel, 18th December, that he had not sufficient troops to undertake anything further, and could only secure what had been acquired—General Oppen's Prussians at St. André and Crévecoeur—advanced posts beyond the Meuse—General Krafft at Heusdan and occupies Lowstein and Worcum—Major Colomb's detachment pushing on towards Maestricht.

GENERAL TAYLOR to DUKE OF YORK.

Hague. December 20th.

. . . The letter from Bülow's headquarters expresses great apprehension of a movement of the enemy on the left—says that if made from Nymeguen he would not lose a moment in retreating, and Holland would be lost as fast as it was acquired. . . .

H. TAYLOR.

December 21st.—Lord Clancarty gave me a copy of a letter from Lord Bathurst directing me to proceed to Sir Thomas Graham, and to place myself under his orders; received letter from Graham desiring me to meet him at Willemstad tomorrow.

LORD BATHURST to GENERAL TAYLOR.

Downing Street. December 17th.

. . . I have received the duplicate of your dispatches of the 8th, 9th, and 10th and a private letter by which I am sorry

to see my friend Lord Clancarty has been very foolish. As he is inclined to be punctilious, I have given you a formal instruction to guide you, in order that you may not give him an opportunity of making a complaint.

You will observe that I have directed you to make your reports to Sir Thomas Graham and to send copies to me only.

It may so happen that it would be incorrect to consider yourself as under my immediate orders. In confining your official communications to Sir Thomas Graham you will also avoid the incorrect proceeding of having a communication with the Prince of Orange. If you have any with the Dutch Government, it should be, *strictly speaking*, through the Ambassador.

Of course, this instruction does not prevent your having a confidential correspondence with Colonel Fagel, who may make what use of the intelligence he thinks proper. You will know what you ought so to communicate.

BATHURST.

SIR THOMAS GRAHAM to GENERAL TAYLOR.

Tholen. December 19th.

SIR,

I am much obliged by your letter and the information you have given to Lieutenant-Colonel Graham. It is quite evident that I can do nothing single-handed of any consequence, both Antwerp and Berg-op-zoom being reinforced, and the nature of the works of the latter being such as would make it a task of some difficulty to get into the place (supposing the gates shut) even if there were no garrison at all; but with a weak one it is quite secure from a *coup de main*, there being water in the ditch everywhere, but for a certain space on each side of the Steenberg gate.

The enemy, therefore, can safely turn his force to the defence of that part from escalade, an operation not to be attempted against an enemy covered by a ditch of such great depth as that of Berg-op-zoom is stated to be.

Nor have I a force, when the whole is collected, to engage in a regular attack, which, indeed, the season of the year would render very inadvisable.

It would be otherwise very hazardous, from the state of the force of the Allies, and the disposition of the Generals, according to your opinion, founded on very just observations.

The defence of Zeeland particularly, should become an immediate object of the Dutch Government, uniting all their naval means to assist and protect their land forces in this place, and such other posts as may be taken up.

While I am obliged to attend to this, our small force will be frittered away, and rendered incapable of doing anything.

I think of taking up cantonments from this as far as Rosendaal, so as to be more at hand to Breda than at Steenberg and Willemstad.

I would much rather have Breda than this place to take charge of, if it were at all certain that the Allies would maintain themselves at Heusden, etc. But it is impossible to extend so far, and should the enemy be able to act offensively, I shall be forced to divide and separate my corps between this and the neighbourhood of Willemstad.

A small force would be very insecure here, especially at time of frost.

I should be extremely glad to have the pleasure of meeting you at Willemstad. The officer who goes with this, Captain Napier, of the Royal Artillery, will inspect the horses, and take your orders on any other points to which you wish his attention to be directed during your absence. . . .

THOMAS GRAHAM.

GENERAL TAYLOR to DUKE OF YORK.

Hague. December 21st.

. . . General Bülow retains his positions, and we are standing still together, yet I think something might be done: the French reinforcements cannot be great, and they must not be suffered to paralyze us. This is one of the grounds which makes me so anxious to get to our headquarters, whence I will not fail to write to Y.R.H. by earliest opportunity.

You know that I had foreseen the present state of things, but we must contend against them and make the most of our present resources and the enemy's repeated embarrassments. . . .

H. TAYLOR.

General Taylor joins Graham at Headquarters.

December 22nd. *Willemstad.*—Left the Hague at 6.15 with Colonel W. Fagel and Colonel Barclay; arrived at Rotterdam between 7 and 8, found the Admiral's yacht prepared to convey me to Willemstad, but declined it, learning that I should not get there until noon to-morrow; crossed the Meuse at Rotterdam to the island of Ysselmonde. From thence into Stryen to the Blute Sluys—the roads a deep clay, very wet, and hardly practicable for country waggons. Crossed the Meuse on Holland's Deep from Blute Sluys to Willemstad in a rowboat. Arrived at Willemstad soon after 4 p.m.

Sir Thomas Graham had been there about an hour. I dined with him; and was desired to take up my residence at his headquarters. In the evening he received a report from

General Benckendorff, dated yesterday from Breda, pressing earnestly for assistance in men, cannon, and ammunition.

December 23rd. Willemstad.—Sir T. Graham told me this morning he had determined not to send any direct reinforcements to the garrison of Breda lest the Russians should commit the defence to the British troops, or carry them away with them—that his first intention had been to collect his corps and move to Rosendaal, but that as he had no cavalry and the country in that direction was open, he would, in preference, bring his troops to this quarter, and canton them between this place and the Merk in a line between Zwenbergen and Gertruydenberg—thence to move to the relief of Breda as circumstances might direct. He should therefore return here himself on 25th, and desired me to remain here, and in the mean time to make some arrangements here, and to ascertain the nature of the cantonment and resources towards the Merk. He then left for Tholen about 9 a.m.

The Hereditary Prince of Orange came through here this evening on his way to Tholen. The inhabitants made every sort of rejoicing.

DUKE OF YORK to GENERAL TAYLOR.

Horse Guards. December 21st.

. . . Hardly ever knowing when an opportunity offers of sending to you, I think it better to write a few lines with the enclosed and leave them with Dighton to dispatch whenever he can.

We are in anxious expectation of accounts from you, as it is now four days since we last heard—and, in the situation which Holland, and indeed the whole continent, is at the present moment, every instant is big with interest. . . .

FREDERICK.

December 25th.—Sir Thomas returned here this evening with all his staff; will remove to Klundert on 27th.

GENERAL TAYLOR to THE DUKE OF YORK.

Willemstad. December 25th.

. . . I conceive my official correspondence with Lord Bathurst to have terminated with my arrival here, and I do not feel that I ought to trouble him with letters while I am under the immediate orders of Sir Thomas Graham, who will make his own reports. . . . To your Royal Highness I may venture to say that I entirely agree with Sir Thomas, and that circumstanced as we are, the endeavouring to connect ourselves with the corps of General Benckendorff and Bülow is far preferable to an

independent movement, or to holding a long straggling line of cantonments. . . .

I have no doubt that whenever this corps is in a movable state Sir T. Graham will endeavour to advance, but I am ignorant of his further plans, nor will he probably decide upon any until he has communicated with Bülow and Benckendorff.

My own idea is that we should, after providing for the defence and security of Willemstad, abandon this low marshy country in which our troops are already getting sickly, and close up to the Russians near Breda, where we shall get into a light healthy soil in which we may be able to move; that we should then advance in the direction of Malines, and, as our means increase, turn the general position of the French at Antwerp, Berg-op-zoom, etc. Their supplies cannot be very large, and such a movement may induce them to retire much sooner than any direct attempt.

The plan of campaign suggested by Taylor.

Supposing, however, that they should operate upon our right while we move upon theirs, I do not see that it matters, or that they can injure us seriously. Even if they should reoccupy Tholen and Steenberg they cannot hold them in their present state, and the communications are such that they cannot supply them with ordnance or stores. To this place they would hardly attempt to advance, and if they did, they could not bring up heavy artillery; at all events it has nothing to fear from an irregular operation.

All this appears to me to establish the preference of a concentration to the left by the temporary abandonment of the line of posts between this and Tholen.

From here to Breda there is water conveyance for troops, etc., and if necessary supplies might be sent up the Meuse to Gertruydenberg, whence the roads are better than from here. Our supplies from Holland north of the Meuse might come into the various inlets from the Biesbosch, and there can be no difficulty in obtaining them in ample quantity.

In fact, the country we occupy would permit great resources if means were taken to collect them, although some of the cantonments to the left have been partially drained by the Russians for the supply of Breda, etc. . . .

Why the French have retired I cannot conceive, unless something is going on in the interior, or other parts of the frontier which may produce the removal of their troops from the Lower Scheldt. This would be truly fortunate, as with the number and quality of the troops we have, I fear our operations would not very soon effect such a result.

However, the defection of Murat and the revolution in Switzerland with other appendages will probably set us very much at ease whenever the reinforcements come up upon our left. . . .

GENERAL TAYLOR *to* DUKE OF YORK.

Willemstad. December 26th.

Bencken-
dorff
indicates
he will
have to
quit
Breda.

. . . Shortly after our letters were dispatched this morning Sir T. Graham informed me that he had received a letter from General Benckendorff dated yesterday morning stating that he had received orders to join the corps of General Winzingerode marching on Dusseldorf. This, in addition to other difficulties, is a most unfortunate circumstance, and Sir T. Graham felt embarrassed what plan to follow.

To abandon Breda would be a serious evil, and yet it is impossible if the French should advance that our small force can hold that and the other extreme point of Willemstad, and maintain the long line of communication. Yet we must not give up Willemstad. . . .

Sir T. Graham wrote this morning very strongly to the Hereditary Prince of Orange and to Lord Clancarty urging the necessity of their assistance to prevail upon General Benckendorff to remain at least eight days longer. . . .

We move to Klundert to-morrow, and I shall be ready, if Sir Thomas wishes it, to go to Generals Benckendorff and Bülow to ascertain their intentions. . . .

H. TAYLOR.

P.S.—*December 27th.*—An officer of General Benckendorff's staff has arrived this morning to state that the General is lying at "single anchor" waiting for the next order which will send him off at once. He proceeds by Arnheim, etc. . . .

December 27th.—Letter from General Bülow dated 25th states he hopes soon to be able to act offensively in co-operation with the British corps; thanks for a supply of shoes and great coats offered by Sir Thomas Graham; says not a word of Benckendorff going off.

GENERAL TAYLOR *to* THE DUKE OF YORK.

Klundert. December 28th.

General
Bülow's
desire to
take
Antwerp.

. . . General Bülow has laid great stress on the importance of possessing Antwerp, and is looking forward to Sir Thomas Graham's co-operation. Sir Thomas has answered him last night that he should be happy to co-operate to the utmost of his means, and that he would send me to Bommell to communicate fully on that subject. I believe I shall go to-night or to-morrow morning.

Sir Thomas Graham had intended to throw three months' supplies into Breda, and he sent Colonel Smyth of the Engineers there yesterday. It is early, and I have not heard

his report, but I doubt our risking any garrison in Breda. In fact, the works are not revetted and the slope is so easy that if the ditch were frozen up you might ride up to the parapet. I think it not unlikely we may go there this morning. Yesterday I had a long ride with Sir Thomas round some of the cantonments, partly through very heavy roads, and as he rides a great pace I was surprised to find my Dutch mare perform it so well. . . . This is a better quarter than Willemstad, but the roads and communications about it are very bad, and almost impossible for carriages.

The road towards Zander Buyten and Oudenbosch becomes sandy and lighter at about two miles from hence, and the country, as Y.R.H. knows, continues so about Breda and Gertruydenberg. I therefore hope we shall soon get our force into that country. Here we are getting sickly, and our *boys* can hardly wade on. There is unfortunately a large proportion of these, some of them not more than 14 or 15, who really cannot carry a musket. Sir Thomas has ordered inspection of battalions in order to separate them from this description of soldier, which, if we move, would only encumber us. I hope that not many of this description will come out with the four battalions from Jersey and Leith, as they are really quite useless.

We are anxiously expecting the arrival of the cavalry. I wish they were more, as it is not pleasant to depend upon our neighbours.

Under all the present circumstances, I am certain Y.R.H. will feel with me that I could not have quitted Sir Thomas Graham without great awkwardness; indeed, I had better have returned from the Hague.

I wish, if possible, to be of some little use in return for all his kindness and confidence, and therefore am very anxious to learn that the Queen has not objected to my staying some little time longer. At all events, I find that even for a week, one horse is not sufficient, and I have bought one of Barclay's.

I am certain Sir Thomas will not wish to risk a garrison at Breda. Lord Clancarty and the P. of Orange have written very strongly to Bülow and Benckendorff, but they have unfortunately stated that we have 10,000 men! On *paper*, including cavalry and artillery, they do not exceed 9000, and we have not 5000 disposable for a forward move. . . .

H. TAYLOR.

December 28th.—I set off at 5 p.m. for Bülow's headquarters with Colonel Barclay in an open chaise—a hard frost. Proceeded by Moendyk, Oosterhout, and Heusden to Bommell. Roads very bad, night dark and foggy, and a guide with lanthorn required occasionally to find the tracks. Country drained by

Russian and Prussian requisitions, and all classes of inhabitants greatly distressed.

December 29th. Bommel.—Arrived at 9 a.m. Passed two hours with Bülow, whose communications very satisfactory. Returned by same route to Klundert, where I arrived at 3 a.m. on 30th—the Prussian posts extremely alert—also those of General Gibbs's brigade at Zwenbergen—not so those of the 25th regiment at Klundert—the sentries at the gates were not challenging.

LORD YARMOUTH *to* GENERAL TAYLOR.

Rotterdam. December 24th.

DEAR TAYLOR,

When I got your letter at 9 this morning, my chattels and my servant were embarked in a schuyt for Willemstad, and your humble servant spurred to ride over, from having learnt that the English were in the villages halfway, and the French all on the Antwerp side of Hoogstraten and W. Wesel. Such was the report here last night, which your note (for which I thank you) falsifies.

I must be in England in the first week in January—six weeks from our departure—so I think I shall give it up, as there is nothing to be seen at a day's warning, which is as much as I would pass in a Dutch hole to see sights, and my excellent inn, the "Prince Cardinal," at Breda is of such difficult access. Won't Benckendorff be starved out if they walk round and round him, long before your army is drilled? By the way, Hompesch¹ had the most narrow escape, attempting to go to see the Contesse de Byland near Breda. He got back, however, without seeing her or the French. If my saddle and bridle come to you, pray take care of them for me. I have sent for my servant—God knows where he is in the schuyt—perhaps at Willemstad.

As ever yours,
Y.

LORD YARMOUTH *to* GENERAL TAYLOR.

Helvoet. December 27th.

Contrary winds seem likely to make me well acquainted with this place; however, there is nothing doing or likely to be anywhere else, so I am as well here as at the Hague, and better than at Willemstad, else I would come.

¹ Baron Ferdinand Hompesch.

No activity at the arsenals here; not one man at work on Christmas Day or Sunday, fitting out the gunboats; and Quartels wrote to King last night to desire him to man three gunboats coming round from Rotterdam. Having already sent his first Lieutenant and 30 in a gun-barge to Tholen this was impossible.

Quartels wrote Debitz word that the French were at Oosterhout, and that on two Cossacks announcing the approach of the French, the Prussian garrison of Gertruydenberg retired.

Count Byland is doing a good deal, but accomplishing nothing—7000 men in buckram—200 enlisted.

A Swede from London came in the night bringing papers to the 23rd, which seem to consider peace as certain, Lord Liverpool and C. having admitted, in answer to questions put by Lord Holland and Mr. Horner, the authenticity of the Frankfort proclamation, and the fact of an overture having been made to and rejected by Buonaparte, refusing to say in what state the negotiation was at present. . . .

YARMOUTH.

(*Later.*) I wrote you this morning by the post, but an opportunity since offering to do so by express I send you another line. A pilot who quitted our coast on the 24th says that Lord Castlereagh was going immediately to France to negotiate peace. I told you in my other letter that in some papers to the 23rd there is an account of the conversation in the Lords and Commons. In both Houses it was admitted that the Frankfort proclamation is genuine, and that overtures had been made to France and rejected. Questioned whether negotiations were now going on, neither L. nor C. would give a precise answer.

No packet having arrived from England, I think you would like to know what we pick up here. There seems to be no chance of a change of wind, so here I stay. I shall be delighted if my horses are of any use to you, and when they are so no longer, to have them exchanged for Cossacks or Circassians.

Ever yours,
Y.

"Jason," 1 o'clock.

GENERAL TAYLOR to DUKE OF YORK.

Klundert. December 30th.

. . . General Bülow's plan embraces an attack on Antwerp without uncovering Willemstad and our communication, but

the execution will still depend upon the contingency of General Winzingerode's moving upon Maestricht.

General Bülow leaves a small corps to watch Nymeguen, and we leave a garrison in Willemstad. . . . Our Hussars are in the Meuse, and a part are landed.

Bencken-
dorff's
desire
that the
British
should
garrison
Breda.

In the mean time the French are again said to be advancing on Breda in greater force. They have driven in the Russian posts, and General Benckendorff has again applied for a garrison of British troops. In fact, he had done so before the French advanced, and all he wants is to get us in, that he may get out. Sir T. Graham sees through it, and wishes to avoid sending troops into Breda. If I have time to add another note to-morrow, I will. At present I am quite knocked up. . . .

H. TAYLOR.

P.S.—*December 31st.*—The advance of the French proves all humbug of Benckendorff's to get us into Breda.

December 31st.—Colonel Smyth of the Engineers reports favourably of the state of Breda; the defences strong and in good order, requiring, however, in case of siege a garrison of between 4000 and 5000 men.

SIR THOMAS GRAHAM to GENERAL TAYLOR.

Klundert. December 31st.

MY DEAR GENERAL,

I have just got the enclosed. Surely if Benckendorff moves, Bülow will take charge of Breda, having such views as he expressed to you. . . . It would be very desirable to ascertain from Valentine what are Bülow's intentions about it. At all events, I mean to say in answer, that at the time I spoke of sending these battalions I believed Breda to be a revetted place like Berg-op-zoom. . . .

. . . THOMAS GRAHAM.

Taylor's interview with Benckendorff at Breda.

GENERAL TAYLOR to DUKE OF YORK.

Klundert. January 1st, 1814.

. . . Sir Thomas Graham received yesterday a letter from Benckendorff acquainting him that he had positive orders from General Winzingerode to join him immediately, and should therefore quit Breda to-morrow, and pressing him again to undertake for the moment the defence of the place.

Sir Thomas answered that he could not comply with this application for reasons before given and now repeated. He seemed desirous that I should endeavour to see Colonel Valentine, supposed to be at Breda, and I accordingly went there in the evening. Colonel Valentine had not been there, but I found General Benckendorff, who received me very civilly. I stated to him fairly the real object of my mission, and that upon other points I was merely authorized to repeat the declaration contained in Sir T. Graham's letter. He seemed very sore, complained of the contempt with which he was treated—that Sir T. Graham would do nothing—that he attached a groundless importance to the protection of Willemstad which would, in fact, be better covered by the occupation of Breda—treated as useless our occupation of Tholen, and ended by saying he must go, and that the whole responsibility of the loss of such a place as Breda with the Ordnance supplies thrown into it would fall upon Sir T. Graham.

To this point I answered that it was not in the character of Sir Thomas Graham to treat any one with contempt, much less one so distinguished by his services and enterprise, and that he was wholly mistaken in the impression he had received, as I could assert from my knowledge of Sir T. Graham's sentiments towards him. Upon the question as to the cantonments and points we occupy, I spoke as instructed by Sir T. Graham, and when he insisted that his opinion was the correct one, and that he would appeal to any military man on the subject, I answered that there were two opinions, and his were not Sir Thomas Graham's.

He fired a little, and said rather ironically that he did not pretend to set up his opinion against mine. I replied very quietly that we might differ in opinion on certain points as in tastes and yet not give offence; and that opinions were often influenced by the interest which each party attached to the object they wished to carry, in which the concerns of the other were disregarded.

I proceeded to deny most positively that any responsibility respecting Breda could attach to Sir T. Graham. He had never occupied it, and never intended to occupy it. He had other points to attend to, quite sufficient for his small corps; it was not, nor ever had been, in the line of his cantonments; nor would it be the point from which his corps would start in any future operation concerted with General Bülow.

Thus we went on for some time; and the arrival of General Van der Plaats, the Dutch Governor (who talked of his *réputation à perdre*, and of strong representations to the Prince of Orange), and that of General Staël of the Cossacks and a numerous staff, did not mend the matter. General Benckendorff was very civil but pertinacious in his opinions, to which I always replied

by a repetition of Sir T. Graham's, and a declaration that I was not authorized to hold any other language; and when he pressed me hard I turned it off by questions as to his line of posts, the resources of Breda, strength of the enemy, etc. General Van der Plaat was upon his high horse, which I met by telling him that he was quite at liberty to act as he pleased, that his representations to the Prince of Orange would only tell him what Sir T. Graham had already himself communicated, and he was the best judge how far his present intentions were conformable to his instructions.

By degrees both became cooler. I availed myself of the interval to get all the information I could respecting Breda, and the posts occupied by the Russians—their communications with the Prussians, etc., and the conversation was for a while suspended by the appearance of a very intelligent spy who was questioned in my presence, and whose information went to show that the French were moving off to their right from West Wesel and Hoogstraten, and had not left more than 1200 men at the latter place. This afforded General Benckendorff additional reasons to support his opinion and to urge the adoption of it. I then told him that I had been sent to General Bülow to communicate respecting what was to be done, and to make a fair statement of Sir T. Graham's means, which had been greatly exaggerated by Lord Clancarty—that I doubted not Sir T. Graham would have communicated to the same effect with General Benckendorff if his approaching departure, by unfortunately depriving us of the advantage and satisfaction of his co-operation, had not rendered such communication superfluous—that General Bülow entirely approved of all Sir T. Graham had done, and concurred in his sentiments as to the impossibility of his occupying Breda with other points, especially while his corps was still equipping.

I submitted also whether, as General Bülow meant to make that place his *dépôt* and the pivot of his general operations, as it was on the line of his route, not ours, and as he also had troops within a reasonable distance, he might not be expected to relieve the Russians in preference to ourselves.

General Benckendorff admitted this, observing that this was a point for General Bülow to decide, and that he had early written to him.

General Van der Plaat was staggered, and now asked me very quietly what I would advise him to do; to which I replied: "By all means write to the Prince of Orange, as I am not authorized to hold out any expectations to you, and can only promise you and General Benckendorff that I will fairly state to Sir Thomas Graham what has passed between us."

Matters being now brought to this point, I thought I had better be off before any fresh subject of discussion arose, and I

declined General B.'s invitation to stay. We parted excellent friends, and I returned immediately to Oudenbosch, where I stayed the night, as it was cold and foggy, rather late, and my horse tired. I returned here early this morning and stated verbally to Sir T. Graham what had passed. . . .

The frost has been very severe last night and this day, and if it continues the ditches of Breda will bear. The ice must be broken, for which the inhabitants may be employed, and in case of great emergency live shells may be used.

The occupation of Breda had become a matter of necessity, and I do not conceive that the French will risk an attempt on it with any formidable corps, as it might easily be cut off from its retreat on Berg-op-zoom. . . .

Since writing the above, a letter has been received from General Bülow, dated yesterday, stating that he had ordered one battalion into Breda, and requesting that Sir Thomas would send one, and adding that he would move up a division to support the place.

Sir T. Graham has replied that he had anticipated his wishes.

Lord Clancarty also wrote to state the great importance which the Prince of Orange attached to the preservation of Breda, and that he had 1800 men of the new Dutch levies to reinforce the garrison.

January 2nd.—I have just received a very friendly letter from General Bülow regretting the departure of Benckendorff and the dilatoriness of General Winzingerode, but trusting that these contretemps would not oblige us to relinquish our plan; his bridge on the Waal would be finished to-morrow—his reinforcements could then pass quickly, and he would then move his headquarters to Heusden, and be most happy to meet Sir T. Graham and concert measures; wished to know exactly with what force in infantry, cavalry, and artillery we could advance—what accession we had received by fresh disembarcations—the more the better. His plans approved at the Imperial headquarters, and great interest taken in them; the Emperor Alexander had ordered General Thielmann to reinforce him with 9000 Saxons. The news from Switzerland excellent, which he details.

January 3rd.—General Gibbs has reported his arrival at Breda yesterday, and the departure of Benckendorff. He states that a weak Prussian battalion had entered also, and that Benckendorff had carried away with him a Prussian corps, in which I am confident he is mistaken. . . .

H. TAYLOR.

January 4th.— . . . As it is impossible that the districts occupied by our troops should furnish sufficient waggons for permanent use, I submitted the resorting to water conveyance for the heaviest stores and those not required to follow the first movement—that the transports from Willemstad should lie off the mouth of the Roodde Vaart—schuyts should be collected there to receive and convey supplies and stores to Oudenbosch, to which point the waggons attending the first movement might be sent back. Sir T. Graham approves.

DUKE OF YORK to GENERAL TAYLOR.

Horse Guards. January 1st, 1814.

The
Queen
consents.

. . . I have only time to write one line, being in a great hurry to acquaint you that I, yesterday—by Lord Bathurst's desire—asked the Queen's permission for you to remain abroad till the 1st of March, explaining to Her Majesty your delicacy upon the subject—at the same time the anxiety Government had to avail themselves of your services for that time, in case she would consent to it; to which she agreed without further making any objections, so that this business is (I trust that you will think) well and properly settled.

I went yesterday to see our beloved King, and found him looking very well in the face, though the length of his beard alters the outline of his face very much. He appeared very good-humoured and happy—was, when I first entered the room, quiet, but afterwards talked to some ideal person and sang. . . . Now, God bless you. I am setting forth, much to my regret, for a few days for Belvoir, when I am to stand godfather to the Duke of Rutland's son—but I shall be back by the end of the week at furthest. . . .

FREDERICK.

GENERAL TAYLOR to DUKE OF YORK.

Klundert. January 6th.

. . . I am sorry to say that General Cooke has reported not less than 300 men of the Brigade of Guards unfit for *any exertion*.

There are many men of the same description and boys in the other brigades who must be left in depôt or garrison. The veteran battalion will garrison Willemstad.

The 10th was the day on which I hoped we should begin our movement, and I regret any delay of which the enemy avails himself to reinforce and supply Antwerp and Berg-op-zoom.

Breda is more than secure, as Prussian troops are coming in fast, and General Bülow will establish his headquarters there

to-morrow. The enemy may, however, be disposed to give us a *tape en passant* at Oudenbosch or Oud-Castel. . . .

H. TAYLOR.

DUKE OF YORK *to* GENERAL TAYLOR.

Belvoir Castle. January 6th.

. . . Most fully do I agree with you in all you say about the composition of Sir Thomas Graham's force, and the necessity of his having a proportion of cavalry joined to it without which he cannot act, or even keep any position with any safety.

You know that the infantry was everything which we could scrape together on the spur of the moment with the idea of their being placed in garrison, and not to be employed on the field.

I am therefore much afraid that they bear a much greater proportion of old men and boys than we could wish. . . .

Could the Allies have been able to push on at the first moment into Flanders and Brabant, I am perfectly convinced they might have moved on almost without firing a shot, at least to the line of the French frontier.

I came here on Sunday to attend the Marquis of Granby's christening. The party has, upon the whole, gone off very well, though we had wretched weather, with hard frost which has put an end to all idea of going out with the hounds.

The ceremony of the christening took place yesterday. The whole was magnificently conducted.

To-morrow we leave this place for Lord Winchelsea's, from whence I shall proceed on Saturday night for town. . . .

Your interview with General Benckendorff must have been rather a curious one, and the General appears to be a complete Cossack. I think Graham was quite right in refusing to garrison Breda in the first instance.

I shall be most anxious to learn the success of your intended movement upon Antwerp.

FREDERICK.

GENERAL TAYLOR *to* DUKE OF YORK.

Klundert. January 9th.

. . . I attended Sir T. Graham yesterday to Breda, where we met General Bülow. The conference was conducted in the most friendly manner, and I cannot help calling Y.R.H.'s attention to the handsome and liberal manner in which Sir T. G., waiving his rank, declared that he would conform in all respects to General Bülow's wishes.

This he did in the most unaffected and cordial manner.

I am inclined to think that the enemy will not wait the attack on the 11th. At all events, I do not expect that we

shall come in for any great share of the business unless they should move upon the right from Berg-op-zoom, which is not impossible, as they have further reinforced that point within these two days.

General
Taylor
receives
the com-
mand of
a brigade.

In consequence of General Skerritt's continued confinement, Sir Thomas has been so good as to put me in temporary command of his brigade, and I shall join it at Oud-Castel to-morrow. . . .

I am a novice in brigade duties, but I shall do my best, and I have the advantage of knowing the three commanding officers. This brigade and the Guards form a division under General Cooke, and McKenzie's and Gibbs's another under McKenzie.

The Guards move to Steenberg this day and to Wouw to-morrow—General Gibbs to Oudenbosch this day, and McKenzie to Rosendaal with the greater part of the cavalry. A small detachment of the 78th has arrived at Willemstad. Admiral Kikkert has already received orders to afford us his aid towards procuring schuylts.

It is, however, to be feared that the floating ice may impede the progress of the boats, and also interfere with the transports lying off Willemstad, which would be a very serious inconvenience to us.

The wind has come to the N.E., and the frost has increased. Our ride from Breda yesterday evening, partly in the dark and across such roads, was not a pleasant one. . . .

H. TAYLOR.

COLONEL FAGEL to GENERAL TAYLOR.

Hague. January 9th.

. . . Lord Castlereagh¹ went yesterday. He will find the whole of the left bank of the Rhine evacuated by the Prussians and Austrians. I have some reason to think that he will try to get a commanding officer for the different troops in this part of the theatre of war to prevent a repetition of Benckendorff leaving in the lurch those who reckoned on him; and only one commanding.

Adieu, my dear General, I am still a bit of a croaker, but notwithstanding, most sincerely yours,

R. FAGEL.

¹ Lord Castlereagh was on his way to Basle to meet the Emperor of Russia, and afterwards to attend the Congress of the Allies.

*The First Movement towards Antwerp.*¹

GENERAL TAYLOR to DUKE OF YORK.

Nispen. January 14th, 7 p.m.

. . . Our grand movement has terminated, and might as well have been left unattempted for the good it has done. . . .

General Bülow gave us a grand Disposition; and on the 11th we marched at 2 p.m. for this place, General McKenzie's brigade having preceded us from Rosendaal and marched to Kalmthout. . . .

Sir T. Graham sent for me to Kalmthout and showed me some communications from General Bülow which were vague, as his progress had been trifling and uncertain.

On the 12th we marched soon after 4, and joined the Guards at Esschene, and proceeded with them through Kalmthout in the direction of Brachschooten. . . .

After we had proceeded a few miles on the road to Brachschooten we were halted, and soon after counter-marched, and the Guards and my brigade were cantoned in Kalmthout—General McKenzie's division having proceeded to Capelle.

The whole of this movement was the result of General Bülow's disposition for his own operation.

General Graham went to Capelle and returned in the evening to Kalmthout. I dined with him, and he told me that General Bülow meant to push the French towards Antwerp, and to advance so as to ascertain its state and means of defence, and that he had desired him to cover his right flank. Sir Thomas, therefore, intended to collect his small force at Capelle; he expected little from the whole operation, but said that if he did not persevere in his co-operation, Bülow would throw upon him the blame of the probable failure. The Prussians were to move on Donk and Merxem, the British to their right on Eeckeren, Hoevenen, and Orderem.

We reached Capelle early in the morning of the 13th, having marched at 3 a.m. The Guards proceeded to Hoevenen and Orderem, thence to observe Lillo and Kruys Shantz. I was directed to occupy Capelle, to cover the right towards Putten, and to keep up the communications with Donk and Hoevenen. In the meanwhile the Light Brigade advanced to Merxem upon a *positive* report from an A.D.C. of General Bülow that the Prussians had occupied it.

The information proved false—the French held the post with nearly 3000 men, and the Light Brigade were brought forward with some guns. The 78th, who were in front, although little more than 200, immediately charged the enemy most gallantly.

Gallant
charge of
the 78th.

¹ See Map, page 132.

The latter had formed in front of the village, and kept up for a few minutes a very heavy fire, but they were driven into and through it by the handful of men, and pursued with considerable loss close up to Antwerp, leaving many prisoners in the hands of the 78th. Colonel MacLeod, who commanded the regiment, was wounded, two subalterns killed, and between 30 and 40 men killed and wounded. All who saw it agreed that it was as gallant an attack as ever was made. Our troops were within 1200 yards of the basin in Antwerp.

Shortly after, a Prussian column (General Thumen's) appeared; they would not believe that our troops were in possession of Merxem; they fired on the 78th, who were returning after being relieved by the 52nd, and are said to have wounded some. Their Hulans charged the hospital waggons and upset that conveying Colonel MacLeod.

I received orders to march with the 55th and 69th to Donk, which I reached towards dusk, and after posting pickets, etc., got my men quartered as contiguous as possible.

Sir T. Graham wrote to me from Eeckeren that General Bülow was going off, and that we must, therefore, all move at night, and that he would call on his way and give me further directions. He came at 11 and showed me General Bülow's letter assigning as motives for relinquishing his operation such as might have occurred before he undertook it, viz. Macdonald's assembling his force of his left flank, the severity of the season, the intricacy of the country, and the enemy's increasing means of defence. . . .

I am to occupy Wouw, which is likely to be the most restless post.

The weather has been extremely severe in point of cold and frost—the night marches, often with indifferent cover when we halted, very trying and very fatiguing. But the men have borne it with admirable patience and good humour, and as yet do not appear to suffer from it.

My two regiments have left only three men on the road. They are very manageable, and I am certain that if circumstances had admitted of their being brought forward, they would have done their duty.

I have had my share of fatigue, but have borne it well, and do not find that a Windsor life has spoilt me for campaigning.

The result of our operations has not surprised me. It was upon too great scale if a reconnaissance only was intended.

Sir T. Graham's activity and zeal and his good temper and forbearance are beyond all praise. No man could do more, circumstanced as he has been, and if he had the management of the whole, I think the result would have been very different. . . .

H. TAYLOR.

CHAPTER VIII

THE CAMPAIGN IN THE NETHERLANDS, 1813-1814 (*continued*)

Major-General Taylor's Notes and Correspondence—The Second Movement on Antwerp—The Capture of Merxem—Shelling the French Fleet—Departure of Bülow to join the Grand Allied Army—Retirement of the British to their quarters—Taylor leaves for England—His mission to Bernadotte—Major Parkinson and the attack on Berg-op-zoom—Close of the War—Taylor's return to London, April 9th, 1814.

SIR THOMAS GRAHAM *to* GENERAL TAYLOR.

Rosendaal. January 14th.

. . . I send you what came last night in my bag to Kalmthout. Among other letters I have one most pressing from Lord B. asking me to urge General Bülow to undertake something against Antwerp, and stating of what consequence it would be to have the fleet destroyed, as many things may be supposed to happen to prevent it afterwards—which I think must either allude to peace, or a misunderstanding being improbable. I hope you mean to come here by and by, as I should be very glad to talk to you, but I doubt the chance of succeeding with Bülow till things are more to his mind, even if you were to take the trouble of going to try your powers of persuasion with him.

THOMAS GRAHAM.

GENERAL TAYLOR *to* DUKE OF YORK.

Wouw. January 16th.

. . . I saw Sir T. Graham yesterday at Rosendaal. He goes to Oudenbosch this day and wished me to be with him on the 18th, thence to go to Breda and endeavour to persuade Bülow to make some more decided movement which may enable us to bombard and burn the fleet.

The last operation was certainly ill-managed by him. His right column was to have intercepted the retreat of the French and was always behind the others. The attack on Hoogstraeten was premature, and the apprehension for his flanks paralyzed his movements; nor was any attention paid to the communications. The whole was *décousu*. He has no reason to complain

of us. We were always well advanced on his right, and the last to come away. . . .

H. TAYLOR.

January 16th. Wouw.—At 3 I inspected the two regiments, and more particularly the boys unfit for marching. I ordered them to Steenberg to-morrow and thence to Willemstad.

January 17th.—One of the Hussar patrols had been alone to the town this morning and had exchanged shots with the enemy's advance sentries. I directed Captain Jansen to ascertain the exact station of the French picket with a view to surprise it if possible. . . .

DUKE OF CAMBRIDGE to GENERAL TAYLOR.

Hanover. January 14th.

. . . I must write you one line, my dear Taylor, by Bloomfield, who is on his way back to England. . . .

I arrived here on the 19th of last month after a short passage of two days and a half from the Nore to Cuxhaven, but was detained full five days in the river before I could sail.

The reception I have met with all over the country is truly gratifying, as it proves that the attachment of the subjects to the old Government has not changed, notwithstanding the unfortunate separation of ten years. This town is dreadfully altered; indeed, I every day feel what a sacrifice I have made in leaving dear old England. The task I have undertaken is a very arduous one from the total want of means of every sort. The requisitions for the Crown Prince's¹ army have very nearly ruined the country, and—without money—to make an army is (you will allow) a hard task. To add to this there is such a want of officers of experience, that I fear at present the forces cannot be put upon that respectable footing I could wish. However, I will do my best, and God grant I may succeed.

We are here in such a dreadful state of ignorance that I have written to Lord Clancarty to request he will let me know what is going on in Holland, and should you still be at the Hague, for God's sake, urge this point. You will easily see the necessity, from the situation of Osnaberg and Bentheim, that any movement of the French should be immediately communicated here. I hope in about six or eight weeks to have a great force of the Landwehr sufficiently forward to take the field.

¹ Bernadotte, the Crown Prince of Sweden.

This, however, must depend upon the arrival of the arms which we expect from England. . . .

God bless you, my dear Taylor,

Yours most sincerely,

ADOLPHUS FREDERICK.

LORD YARMOUTH to GENERAL TAYLOR.

London. January 16th.

. . . Thanks for your letter which reached me with unbroken seal yesterday. I was not well the last ten days abroad, and the very day after my return to London, I broke out in one knee and both feet with a violent fit of the gout, with which I am in bed, and so write awkwardly.

Pray ride the horses while you remain, and before your return sell at least the Windsor black for anything you can get. Although a stupid accident broke the other's knees, you will find him much the best, and, I believe, as safe as any horse anywhere.

The Duke of York condescended to call upon me yesterday and told me he should send on Tuesday, so I send this to Torrens accompanied by a wish that it may go into the fire rather than into the Ambassador's wallet.

Now for news and events—Bunbury is gone to Lord Wellington; and one person well informed tells me it is to dissuade him from hoisting the Fleurs de Lis, whilst another yet better informed, I think, says it is to arrange for the appearance of a Bourbon there, and to say much on this subject which Government are too much afraid of Whitbread to put on paper.¹

I fear the fancy for a slice has overpowered that manifested for the *Major-General*—although the M.G. was by herself proposed, accepted, and announced—neither are fit for the duty—the want is getting to a distressing height, and general coldness is returned. I am very sorry.

The P.R.² is quite well and pleased with his tour. He condescended to come and dine with me, and I executed your commission, and also about the stag-hound whippers-in. What ought they really to have as pensions? They say Sir Harry F. is to marry General Hugonin's daughter! I hear the Princess Sophia is very seriously unwell, but you know more of that of course than I do from your correspondence at Windsor. Remember me affectionately to Barclay, and, as I mean to hop

¹ The secret of this mission to Wellington has never been divulged.

² Prince Regent.

about in a few days, if I can do anything for you pray tell me, and I shall be most happy.

Forgive my bedridden written letter, and believe me,

Yours most truly,
Y.

P.S.—If there is much doing and the frost breaks, and it looks fine, I will come back.

Taylor's Appointment to another Brigade.

GENERAL TAYLOR to DUKE OF YORK.

Oudenbosch. January 18th.

. . . I came here this day by desire of Sir T. Graham in order to proceed to-morrow to Breda to see General Bülow and press him on the subject of a renewal of the attempt of Antwerp; and I will, if I can, let Y.R.H. know the general results before I return to my brigade at Wouw.

All has continued quiet there, and I have been hard at work in getting matters in order. . . .

Sir Thomas was at Willemstad yesterday, and finding General Skerritt up, therefore likely to resume his brigade, he has very kindly appointed me to a very desirable one in General McKenzie's division, which I shall join in four or five days, and in which I am certain of *active* employment if anything is done; more so than I must tell some of my friends.

Y.R.H. will easily believe how much I feel Sir T. Graham's kindness, but with the little professional knowledge and practice I have, it will require my utmost attention and exertion not to expose myself in the direction of a brigade consisting partly of light troops.

We expect the Duke of Clarence here to-morrow, and Sir T. Graham will meet him at Tholen. . . .

H. TAYLOR.

January 18th.— . . . An old Dutch officer came in, and offered to show our troops the way into Berg-op-zoom by surprise. Sir Thomas desired him to come to me at Wouw on the 20th, and to state his plan in writing. He afterwards returned to Oudenbosch, and I accompanied him.

January 19th.—Colonel Smyth and I saw the Dutch officer, and Smyth agreed to reconnoitre Berg-op-zoom with him to-morrow morning. I ordered 400 men to be under arms at 6 a.m. to carry off the wood the French had been cutting.

GENERAL TAYLOR to DUKE OF YORK.

Oudenbosch. January 20th.

. . . I have only a moment to acquaint Y.R.H. that all is satisfactorily arranged with Bülow. I was there yesterday, and he came to Sir Thomas Graham this day.

Our attempt will be renewed immediately, viz. we march on 25th ourselves to Eschene and Kalmthout—Bülow's principal corps with our bombarding train by the Antwerp chaussée, both direct on Antwerp—and Borstell's on the left direct on Malines. . . .

At present I must hasten back to Wouw, and to settle all for my old brigade, previous to joining my new one on the 23rd at Rosendaal. . . .

H. TAYLOR.

COLONEL JAMES CARMICHAEL SMYTH¹ to GENERAL TAYLOR.

Wouw. January 21st.

. . . I accompanied our friend to the Antwerp road, but which I did not judge it prudent to pass, although in his great zeal he wished me to go into the Polder on the other side of it, and close to the river-side. If we had been watched or observed from the works any picket or small party of infantry would have been able to cut off our retreat.

The Dutch officer's proposal against Berg-op-zoom.

The bastion which he wishes to assault is the great bastion close to the water-port gate, but on the Antwerp side, and which can only be got at by the Antwerp road. He maintains that the great defence of this bastion is the inundation and wet ditch in front of it—both of which are now frozen over with the exception of a small space from 6 to 8 feet daily broken by the enemy. He says that there is no revêtement either to the scarp or counterscarp of this bastion; and upon a reference to the plan it really appears to be the case. If we had not something else at present upon our hands, it would certainly be desirable to know more upon this subject, particularly as to the quantity of ice broken. To succeed, it must be a surprise, as our approach to the bastion is flanked completely; and if we had to retreat it would be across the open Polder country under the fire of whatever guns the enemy may have mounted on this side of the place.

It is a pity that Captain de Beer, who appears most zealous and hearty in the cause, knows nothing of fortification, as he cannot explain himself, or answer the commonest questions—but of the practicability of his scheme he seems most confident. . . .

. . . J. CARMICHAEL SMYTH.

¹ The distinguished military engineer, and author of several works on fortifications, etc.

GENERAL TAYLOR *to* DUKE OF YORK.

Wouw. January 22nd.

. . . I have received a very gracious letter from the Queen about my leave and absence to which I shall reply this day.

I shall join my new brigade at Rosendaal to-morrow. It consists of the 33rd, 35th, 56th, and 78th, and detachments of the 95th. The cold is intense, the frost is very hard, and I hope it will continue so until our movements and operations are completed.

From Berg-op-zoom the general intelligence is that the garrison is within these few days reduced by detachments and deserters to 2000 men of a very bad description.

The Governor is much addicted to drinking, but the late Prefect of Breda, Mr. Pepper, who is there, is said to be active, and a thorough Frenchman.

My little expedition yesterday was satisfactory on the whole.

The officers and men were attentive and enjoyed the thing. We alarmed and insulted the garrison, who beat to arms, etc., and kept close within the inner works—and we removed some good oak sticks from within cannon shot of the works.

Colonel Smyth of the Engineers made a reconnoissance towards the water port at the same time. I believe a surprise would be practicable there during the frost, but it would require arrangements and means which cannot at present be applied to this object. I am almost sorry to quit my present brigade. Colonel Morier and Major Frederick are both very attentive officers. I am also very much pleased with Captain Jansen commanding the squadron of Hussars here, and with his officers and men; they do their duty admirably, and the officers have assisted me materially in ascertaining the resources of the districts in advance.

Two Dutch officers are just come in from B.O.Z.; they state that the garrison consists of between two and three thousand. . . . I hope my next will acquaint Y.R.H. that we have burnt the French fleet. . . .

H. TAYLOR.

GENERAL TAYLOR *to* THE DUKE OF YORK.

Wouw. January 23rd.

. . . The Duke of Clarence is, I find, preparing his carriages to accompany our movement. I trust that by scraping altogether we shall bring 6000 effective firelocks (infantry) into the field. The second Hussars and Artillery are quite effective. Sir T. Graham has been most indefatigable, and

nothing but his personal activity could have rendered effective and movable a corps so composed.

January 23th. Rosendaal.—I open my letter to say that Sir T. Graham went to Breda this morning to see General Bülow, and that our movement is put off to the 27th, the Prussians not being ready.

If the frost were to break up the delay might prove serious, as it would enable the enemy to inundate the country, which they have already done about Lillo, and have attempted unsuccessfully about Merxem, where the ice would not allow the sluices to open. However, we are assured by the natives that there is little chance of a change of weather, and if the delay does not favour the enemy, it will assist us in completing our equipment. Sir Thomas means to leave nothing but Tholen and Willemstad occupied—possibly a few hundred garrison men at Steenberg, but in Wouw only a few Hussars—and to take his chance of the enemy's advancing in that direction, rather than weaken the corps with which he moves.

I conclude we shall move in two columns for the sake of cover. Of my actual brigade I have seen little as yet. I understand the 35th are good, and the 56th a good body of men—78th very unequal, and the 95th very young, but zealous and promising—the 33rd indifferent, having a large proportion of boys and weakly soldiers. I have already proposed to General McKenzie that a further draft should be made of these, and that they should form the baggage and hospital guard of the whole brigade, which is what I have done in the first brigade. He approved, and it shall be executed to-morrow. I was vexed at having superseded in the command Colonel Brown of the 56th, a very old and meritorious officer, but he bears it very good-humouredly. I had nearly turned him out of his quarters also, but I have insisted upon a division, and upon his messing with me while here.

H. TAYLOR.

January 25th. Rosendaal.—Ordered that in a camp march kettles would be allowed in the proportion of 1 to 16 men, and carried in waggons and carts—that sergeants who did not produce a cart or post horse for carrying of instruments and medicine chests to-morrow would be reported to headquarters.

GENERAL TAYLOR to DUKE OF YORK.

Rosendaal. January 25th.

. . . I am getting on with my brigade arrangements, and hope to have all settled by the day of movement. If Sir Thomas Graham will allow us to leave our packs in store (which

General McKenzie has agreed to propose) we shall do much better. The men can do without them in this weather for a week, and to carry them in waggons and carts would require 35 for my brigade only. If they carry them on their backs many will not keep up, and many will throw them away when they go into action, as was the case with the 78th. . . .

Bülow has again put off the forward movement. I know not to what day, in consequence of Macdonald's having assembled his force, about 10,000, between Malines and Louvain. In my humble opinion we ought to attack him immediately. . . .

H. TAYLOR.

January 26th. Rosendaal.—I have made arrangements for establishing in a large building a little out of this town a general store, and a brigade hospital with distinct rooms for each regiment.

Bülow's first intention was to attack Macdonald, but, in a letter, now states that having still a project against Bois-le-Duc he could not undertake the operation against Antwerp on the 27th. The Duke of Saxe Weimar has joined him, but not his troops, which amount only to 7000 men.

M.-GENERAL TAYLOR to DUKE OF YORK.

Rosendaal. January 26th.

. . . I have been to headquarters, and understood that all had been satisfactorily settled as to the share we should take in the operations against Antwerp before this movement of Macdonald's suspended it.

It would appear, from intelligence received, that Buonaparte had directed a line of defence to be occupied in front of Antwerp, of which Merxem is the principal point; but from its extent it requires a considerable number of men—that they have formed abattis, and are raising works about Merxem, and demolishing houses, and that they occupy it with 1500 infantry, and 15 field-pieces, and that they are demolishing the houses at Burgenhout.

All these, in my humble opinion, are arguments against our deferring the operation, but I fear that Bülow is awaiting the arrival of the Saxons and other troops, and that many days may elapse before we move.

Sir T. Graham imagines that the Duke of Saxe Weimar is senior to both Bülow and Winzingerode, and is sent to assume the general command, but I believe this to be merely his own surmise.

I saw the Duke of Clarence at Oudenbosch, and he desired me to remember him kindly to Y.R.H., and to say that as

there is a pause he should go to the Hague and return whensoever a movement should be in positive agitation, that he has kept clear of all interference. He desired me to say further how much he has been pleased with the appearance, manners, and conversation of Prince Frederick of Orange. . . .

. . . H. TAYLOR.

January 27th.— . . . Saw the regiment practise the new mode of coming to the "*present*" introduced by General McKenzie by raising the firelock to the level instead of lowering it.

GENERAL TAYLOR to DUKE OF YORK.

Rosendaal. January 29th.

. . . I went to headquarters yesterday to see Sir Thomas, who had been confined some days with rheumatism. He told me that the French were still employed in fortifying Merxem even to the extent of making loopholes in the houses—that we should probably move on the 30th (to-morrow), and that General Borstell had already advanced on Lier, General Bülow's object being to drive the French across the Scheldt, and entirely to clear his front, and then to return on Antwerp. The first movement of our corps would not therefore be further than Kalmthout. General Bülow had taken Bois-le-Duc town and citadel without losing a man.

The Duke of Saxe Weimar paid Sir T. Graham a visit on the 27th. This morning I have heard nothing, nor have we as yet received any orders to march.

I am sorry to say it has thawed these three days, and that it snows and rains this morning, which will make the roads very wet and heavy. Luckily our heavy guns are on the Antwerp chaussée.

I was confined to my brigade on the 13th, and therefore saw nothing of Merxem and the locale about it. I have understood that the approach to the village was open, the road lined with trees, which the enemy have now felled and made an abattis of—that in the rear there is a windmill on deserted ground (unoccupied on the 13th) now covered with a battery of heavy guns—that the dyke to the right of the village in the direction of Antwerp and the basin was then unprotected, and is now enfiladed by a battery of heavy guns, and that traverses and other works have been raised to protect the approaches to the village. In short, our late movement has pointed out to the enemy what they should do to deprive us of another so easy opportunity of destroying the fleet.

I should imagine that our attacks by infantry must now be carried to the right and left of Merxem, and directed upon the

further extremity so as to threaten to cut off the retreat of the French while we amuse them with a 24-pound shot and shells from the front. I shall regret this on account of the inhabitants, but necessity has no law.

I have received a letter from my brother¹ of the 21st, which, I am grieved to say, does not afford to me the satisfaction of learning that poor Princess Sophia is making any effectual progress. I hope, however, that it is only now retarded by the continued severe weather, which appears to have been extraordinary in England.

I learn that the French have inundated the country on each side of Merxem, leaving only the approach by the road, the abattis across which is 10 feet high. The inundation is the most serious of all obstacles, and at this moment it is pouring with rain. . . .

H. TAYLOR.

LORD BATHURST *to* GENERAL TAYLOR.

Downing Street. January 25th.

. . . We have waited with some impatience for Sir T. Graham's dispatch respecting your late advanced movement upon Antwerp.² By the report General Bülow has made to the King of Prussia, he is very satisfied with the part which the English took in the business, and with Sir Thomas's cordial co-operation. You will be glad to hear that Sir Thomas expresses himself in his private letter to me just as I thought he would with respect to you. . . .

BATHURST.

DUKE OF YORK *to* GENERAL TAYLOR.

Horse Guards. February 8th.

At last after a lapse of nearly three weeks the communication is again opened with the Continent, and seven mails from Holland arrived the day before yesterday by which I received your several letters.

I am rejoiced to find that you keep your health in spite of all the fatigue and exposure to weather to which you have been so little accustomed for so many years, and that you are pleased with your situation, and Sir T. G.'s confidence in you. I can assure you that it is very mutual, and nothing can be more

¹ Brook Taylor, who had taken the General's place at Windsor during his absence in Holland.

² The first movement.

gratifying than the manner in which he speaks of you in his letters to Lord Bathurst.

I am sorry that you had nothing to do during the first movement upon Antwerp (which between ourselves appears to have been a very singular operation, though very well explained away by being called a *reconnaissance*), as I have no doubt that—though young troops—the different battalions under your command would have done you and themselves credit.

Nothing could have been handsomer or more right-headed in every respect than Sir T. Graham's conduct in waiving all idea of rank, and adopting implicitly General Bülow's plan.

I think you are quite right in preferring the new brigade to which you are posted, as you are much more likely to be able to distinguish yourself with it, and I am waiting in anxious expectation of learning the result of the intended attack upon Antwerp. I shall be perfectly satisfied if you burn the fleet.

Pray remember me to Barclay as well as to Sir Thomas, Jemmy Stanhope, and all other friends, among the rest to the Duke of Clarence and the Hereditary Prince of Orange. . . .

. . . FREDERICK.

The Second Movement towards Antwerp.

January 29th.—At 3 p.m. orders arrived for the division to march at 6 a.m. to-morrow for Kalmthout.

January 30th. Kalmthout.—Got up at 4 a.m. and was ready to fall in at half-past five, but the morning was so dark and boisterous with driving hail and snow and rain, that General McKenzie ordered the brigades to turn out first at 7, then at daylight, and we marched at 8.30, and reached Kalmthout towards 1. Roads extremely wet, with occasional sheets of water—wind very high and cold with snow. The men bore it cheerfully, and kept up very well. I left the 78th in a hamlet about $1\frac{1}{2}$ miles short of Kalmthout—the rest of the division quartered in this place. . . . I learnt from Colonel Trench that the Prussians were in motion, and that Sir T. Graham had gone round by West Wesel to see General Bülow. He told me on his return in the evening that Bülow and his staff, and more particularly the Duke of Saxe Weimar, were all for the movement before Brussels, and now objected to, and threw difficulties in the way of any attempt on Antwerp, or to burn the fleet, which indeed General Bülow had not hesitated in saying was *un objet purement Anglais*—Sir Thomas would endeavour to prevail on General Bülow to give effect to his first intention and engagements, and in the mean

time had agreed to take up the Prussian cantonments on the Antwerp chaussée, and to incline them far to his left, which would not throw him out of the line of advance to Antwerp. . . .



January 31st. Brecht.—We marched about 8. The troops reached this place at 2 p.m. It froze in the night, and the roads were alternately ice and sheets of water.

I got here at 11 a.m. with Sir Thomas Graham, who passed the troops on the march and desired me to come on with him, that he might send me with Colonel Smyth to General Bülow with instructions to endeavour to bring him round to his first intention of a combined operation towards destroying the fleet at Antwerp.

Colonel Smyth and I got to West Malle between 12 and 1, and were immediately admitted to General Bülow, who, to our surprise, proposed as a matter of course, the very measure to which we were instructed to press him, viz. that we should at once make the attempt in question in combination with the greater part of the Prussian corps, while General Borstell

moved on and occupied Malines; the latter was to drive the French from Lier this day.

General Bülow meant to move to Wynegem to-morrow, and have a principal advance post at Schoeten, and he wished Sir Thomas to move on Brachschoten with advanced posts at Donk and Eeckeren. On the following day we should move on Merxem—the Prussians on Deurne, Berchem, etc.—and we should lose no time in establishing mortar batteries, for which purpose our heavy artillery must immediately be brought up close on the rear of our columns.

General Bülow partly let the cat out of the bag by lamenting that the Saxon troops were not come up—and that he was thus prevented pushing the grand operation on Valenciennes, etc.

Before we left him the Duke of Saxe Weimar came into his room.

February 1st. Brachschoten.—We marched from Brecht at 8 a.m. and proceeded to this place—the first division following us from West Wesel and Loenhout. On the march I met Sir Thomas Graham, who told me that Prince Schwarzenberg had sent an officer with orders to Bülow to move to his left on Mons to support and co-operate with General Winzingerode. He did not know the effect of this, but as we were so near he hoped General Bülow would persevere in his attempt on Antwerp.

SIR THOMAS GRAHAM to GENERAL COOKE.

February 1st. 8.30 p.m.

. . . I have as yet no communication from General Bülow, so that I can say nothing about our hour for the movement, but I have desired General McKenzie to have his division assembled at the junction of the Berg-op-zoom road at daylight on this chaussée. I think General Skerritt's brigade should be ready to go off to the left towards Denhoorst so as to be ready to join in the attack on the village on that side.

The guns of your division will follow General McKenzie's division, and the Guards will follow as a reserve to the whole. . . .

If you can give any information about the roads this evening, pray do, and at all events I will let you know about the time whenever I hear from Bülow. I should wish all the men to be without having their great-coats over their red coats, to prevent mistakes.

THOMAS GRAHAM.

The DISPOSITION issued by Graham for the Attack on Merxem.

Headquarters, Brachschooten. February 2nd.

The attack on Merxem will be made this morning by the second division, having a brigade of Guards and the first division in reserve on the great chaussée.

Major-General Skerritt's brigade with the three flank companies of the picket at Denhoorst will move from that place by the most direct paths leading upon Antwerp to the left of Merxem, but as nearly parallel to the great roads as possible, and keeping up a communication with the troops upon it.

As far as circumstances will permit, light troops will be detached on each side of the chaussée from the head of the second division, so as to endeavour to get in by the flanks of the village; care will be taken, however, that the troops so employed shall always have supports in reserve; and frequent reports will be sent in by the officers to the head of the column.

Sir George Wood will take care that the heavy artillery shall be ready to be brought up in case it shall be found necessary to employ it against the village of Merxem. As soon as the enemy is driven out of the village, the avenues leading to Antwerp will be strongly occupied; and Colonel Smyth, commanding the Engineers, will lose no time in forming barricades and such other works as he may think necessary to defend it against any attempts of the enemy.

As it may be expected that the enemy will throw shells from the ramparts of Antwerp, the village will at first be occupied with all attention to find shelter for the troops, from the effects of such bombardment—no more being allowed to remain in the village and within range of the artillery of the place than what are necessary for its defence, and for carrying on the works already mentioned.

Colonel Smyth will likewise mark out such mortar batteries as he may think necessary, and will send in to the Adjutant-General a detail of such working parties as he may require.

F. W. TRENCH,
Lt.-Col. A.Q.M.G.

GENERAL TAYLOR to DUKE OF YORK.

Merxem. February 4th.

. . . I have more than once sat down to write to Y.R.H. and to thank you for the kind letter I received on the 1st, but as often have been interrupted; and you may easily conceive that I have with others been pretty well hurried.

I will endeavour now to give you a brief account of our proceedings since we marched from Brecht.

The second division marched on the 1st to Brachschoten, the first following us from West Wesel and Loenhout.

When we reached that place General Gibbs's brigade turned off to Donk and I proceeded on the Antwerp chaussée towards Merxem, halting the head of the brigade at the turn of the road towards that place about a mile short of a French picket stationed at the head of the abattis, and two miles from Merxem.

I was out some hours in examining the ground and country, which is very much intersected and covered with brushwood, and after posting pickets, securing all the quarters and establishing patrols in all directions, communicating on the right with Donk, on the left with Schoten, where the Prussians arrived soon after, and intermediately with the Guards, who had a few companies on our left, I returned to my quarters.

In the mean time the Prussians had advanced towards Deurne, and contrary to intention had engaged in the attack of that village which was entrenched, had cannon, and was strongly occupied.

They were twice repulsed, and finally only occupied the first houses of the village. General Bülow sent to Sir T. Graham to say that he was too far engaged, and desired he would attack Merxem that evening to relieve him.

It was too late to undertake this, but Sir Thomas desired General McKenzie to order me to make a reconnoissance on the great road, to show the appearance of a large column advancing, but not to engage in anything serious.

A recon-
naissance
in the
dark.

I moved with half the pickets, two companies 35th and about 30 of the 95th, and I detached Major Macalister with the light companies 35th and 20 riflemen to turn the picket by its left, while we made a show along the road. It was getting dusk and was quite dark before Major M. could get round, while we moved very slowly and cautiously to be at hand to support him. He came upon their flank and rear, and had nearly surprised them, but the advanced sentry got off, was fired at, and a very smart fire of musketry was engaged on both sides. I kept moving on very quietly without firing until close up to the French picket. We were challenged by Major Macalister's party, and I ordered them into the road to cease firing; and finding all present I was preparing to move off when one of our Hussars having gone close up to the abattis drew upon us a heavy volley, but fired so high that it only wounded one man and hit some others in their caps, etc. I ordered the rear companies immediately to face about and retire slowly, and the riflemen and light company of the 35th to keep up a heavy fire to cover us—constantly retiring.

We soon silenced the French, and came back without further molestation. I since learnt that the enemy ran into Merxem, having two killed and two wounded. I mention this to Y.R.H. to show the steadiness of the troops, all this having occurred in the dark. They wanted to charge, but I would not commit them any further, having in fact done more than was necessary.

The odd thing was that we not only alarmed the French, but also alarmed the Prussian pickets on our left, which all ran in when they heard the fire.

Soon after this General McKenzie rode to headquarters, and I am sorry to say on his return his horse fell with him, and he was seriously hurt on the head and otherwise bruised so as to be unable to move with us on the following day.

On the 2nd we formed at daybreak on the Antwerp road right in front—General Gibbs's brigade having come in from Donk and leading—all the riflemen of the division in front.

We were to move by the Antwerp chaussée on Merxem—General Skerritt's brigade supported by some of the Guards to turn the enemy's right—the remainder of the Guards in reserve behind us.

The at-
tack on
Merxem.

Towards 8 o'clock we were put in motion, and when the riflemen approached the abattis where the French picket was stationed, the firing commenced. Hence to Merxem was a continued abattis with other obstructions—the country close—intersected and bushy on the flanks. Our progress in front therefore naturally expected to be very slow, and Sir T. Graham ordered me to turn off to the right with the 52nd, 35th, and 78th, and four guns, with orders to endeavour to find a route that should carry me sufficiently to the right to come in upon the left of the enemy's post, and thence join in the attack, but with strict injunctions not to commit myself until I saw the centre attack well advanced.

After proceeding a little way while the attack was carrying on very briskly in the centre (close upon our left), I found a very intelligent and willing guide who took us by a road which brought us across the Polder, and in face of a battery of two guns near a windmill on the left, and rear of Merxem with S. Ferdinand's dyke nearly parallel to our front—a thick fall of snow concealing our approach.

The centre column had in the mean time carried the village, and its Tirailleurs were advancing rapidly on our left.

At this moment the French battery at the windmill opened on us. I ordered the guns forward, covered to the front and right by the 52nd, and moved the 35th and 78th off the road to the left, whence I advanced gradually in line inclining to the left so as to place them under cover of parallel ditches with rows of trees, and thus to approach the dyke, and with orders not to fire a shot; which was most strictly observed.

The fire of our guns, with the advance of the 52nd on our right and front, and that of the 95th and 56th on our left, soon obliged the French to abandon their guns, and we joined part of General Gibbs's brigade, and with them took up a line behind the dyke which covered us from the numerous shots and shells with which the enemy favoured us from their works.

There being no appearance of any further opposition (being the senior officer present), I sent in the greater part of the battalions and remained with the rest until relieved in the afternoon by Lord Proby and the Guards.

Sir Thomas Graham came up in the interval and examined the ground. He agreed that the right was the weakest point, as the continuation of the dyke up to the works exposed it to sorties and to being enfiladed by cannon which they could bring forward. He desired Colonel Cameron of the 95th and me to go to the right and see how it could be covered.

We found the means of making an abattis across the dyke, and agreed that this, with a good epaulment and traverses, should be commenced at dusk, and a gun if possible placed behind this cover; also a picket in a house behind the dyke. I left directions with Lord Proby to execute this work, and went into Merxem, not a little fagged, after further visiting the quarters of the regiments.

I have already mentioned to Y.R.H. the obstacles thrown in the way of the centre attack, which nothing short of the persevering gallantry and activity of the troops could have overcome—Sir T. Graham, I am told, constantly at their head.

General Skerritt's column was prevented by inundations, etc., from coming up to take a share in the attack. The brunt of the action fell on the 95th, 54th, and 73rd. In my small column I had only one officer and five men wounded. Our total loss, eleven or twelve officers wounded and 110 men—few killed—the guards not engaged.

This attack brought us to the ground we wished to occupy, and at much less expense than we had apprehended. About 260 French prisoners were taken. They had about 2000 men in the village under General Ambert, and certainly did not behave well. They had begun extensive works, had loopholed houses, etc.

Working parties were immediately ordered from the first division, and the batteries were far advanced in the night.

At 5 yesterday morning Captain Colville brought me by desire of Sir T. Graham a letter from General Bülow dated the preceding evening at Schilde, in which after detailing the various movements of the grand army, and stating that General Borstell was at Malines and a detachment of his corps at Brussels, he said that he himself had received orders to push forward upon the right of Winzingerode, so that all the corps

might co-operate in the advance upon Paris. He expressed his anxiety to know when our batteries would begin to play upon the fleet, that he might make his arrangements for his own movement after affording us every aid and co-operation in his power.

The letter was friendly and cordial. Sir T. Graham desired I would show it to Sir G. Wood and Colonel Smyth, who are in the same house with me, and urged the utmost expedition in getting the mortars into battery. They promised to be ready by 3 p.m.

Some time after, Sir T. Graham called, and desired me to go to General Bülow at Deurne to ascertain exactly his intentions, and to endeavour to obtain his co-operation until the 6th.

I went to Deurne with Colonel Graham—found there General Thumen, who described to me the attack which the Prussians had made on that village on the evening of the 1st and on the 2nd. The opposition was very serious, particularly on the 1st. On the morning of the 2nd they carried it, having lost in the two days between five and six hundred men killed and wounded. Major Reiche of the staff came up and told us that General Bülow was at Schilde and would not be at Deurne until the afternoon. We therefore proceeded to Schilde, about four miles further, where we saw him and the Duke of Saxe Weimar immediately.

Bülow
agrees to
stay till
the 6th.

He received us very cordially and without difficulty agreed to stay upon our left until the 6th, and, in short, until our business was done and everything brought off down to the last platform. After this, he would hasten his movement towards France. He thought Sir T. Graham would then occupy Brecht principally, with posts at Lier—to cover Breda and maintain the communication with Malines, etc.

To this last proposition I gave no answer, as Rosendaal must be our post when left to ourselves. He added that deputies from Brussels had arrived to apply for arms for the Brabantese.

Arrival of
Carnot at
Antwerp.

On my return I met a man who had come out of Burgenhout who told me that the Duc de Plaisance¹ had commanded at Deurne, where the French had suffered severely, and that Carnot arrived in the afternoon of the 2nd to replace him in the command at Antwerp. The village of Deurne is nearly destroyed by fire, shot and shell. General Bülow meant to make a diversion for us on Burgenhout before our fire opened, but I believe the inundation, etc., rendered it impracticable.

At 3 I went to the top of the church steeple of Merxem with Sir T. Graham, the Duke of Clarence, etc., to see the

¹ Charles François le Brun, created Duc de Plaisance by Napoleon. When Louis Buonaparte abandoned the kingdom of Holland, the Duc de Plaisance was appointed Governor.

effects of the batteries. They opened at half-past three, but the shells in general seemed to fall short.

However, towards 5 there was a blaze, and our fire continued until past dusk, when it ceased. That of the enemy, which had been very warmly kept up, ceased soon after. The buildings on fire proved to be Magasins de Comestibles, and a church this side of the arsenal. Our casualties were few, four artillerymen and a few horses wounded. Their shot and shells passed all our quarters and injured many houses of this place, also struck the church steeple occasionally while we were in it.

All continued very quiet during the night, and some of our guns and mortars were moved to the right, more within range.

At 4 this morning I ordered all my horses but one, and baggage to Brachsoten, as this berth is rather a warm one, and I feared a confusion in case of fire.

My brigade was in readiness to support our batteries in case of sorties.

Towards 7 a report came in that the enemy were coming on in force upon our left. I turned out with the regiments and went to the right, being persuaded (and General Gibbs concurring with me) that any attack on the left must be a false one. The alarm was a false one, and we turned in again.

There was a second report that the enemy was advancing on our right. We did not turn out, and this proved only a working party going to construct a battery on our right, at the extremity of the dyke and the *fort du nord*.

If they should proceed with it, we must contrive to dispossess them, otherwise it will prove very destructive.

At half-past ten our fire had recommenced, and I hope to learn with better effect, but I have not been out to see, wishing to write quietly to Y.R.H. While so doing the French amuse me with shot and shell. Many of both have come over—a shell has burst close to the door, and a shot has just knocked down my chimney. * * * I have just heard that we are firing with better effect and have set fire to some houses beyond the fleet. I will go out to take a look and then proceed with my epistle which is written under interruptions of various sorts. * * *

Our shells and red-hot shot have been thrown with great precision, but until 3, when I left Merxem, without much effect, although we clearly saw them fall into the shipping and arsenal; but I suspect all have been sodded and otherwise made bomb-proof; and we feel the want of rockets most seriously. The town was on fire to the left of that building (the arsenal), but there being little wind it probably would not spread.

The fire from the enemy's batteries has been very heavy and incessant, but has done little mischief. One of our 24-pounders had burst and wounded several men. * * *

I have since heard that more than one has burst, and three have been dismantled, which reduces us to one. I begin to despair of success, although we deserve it. We may persevere to-morrow, after which, at all events, our ammunition will be expended. . . . I shall probably be on duty to-morrow, and therefore shall close and send in my packet. . . .

H. TAYLOR.

February 5th.—Our fire was kept up with great animation and extraordinary precision, many of the shells being clearly seen to fall into the shipping, others into the arsenal.

GENERAL TAYLOR to DUKE OF YORK.

Merxem. February 6th.

. . . Our fire opened again early yesterday and was kept up from twelve mortars and howitzers (which had been partly moved during the night more to the right) and three 24-pounders, with great vivacity and precision, every shot or shell almost falling into the basin or arsenal, but without visible effect on the ships, although they must have suffered very much.

The enemy's fire was also very heavy early in the day, but relaxed some time after, clearly from their attention being taken up with the fires in the shipping, which they were extinguishing, numbers being discerned supposed to be so employed.

Towards the afternoon their fire on Merxem became so heavy, some houses being on fire, and shells came in so thick that after having sixteen men of the 78th wounded by the explosion of one shell in a house, I ordered my brigade, which was on duty, to move out to the rear, out of reach of this destructive fire, and kept them out till dark, when I relieved the 35th pickets with the 33rd, and moved the rest behind the dyke, where I continued with them all night until relieved at daylight by part of the first division.

There was no fire in the night. I visited the advanced posts twice, and all was quiet.

Want of means and of time, with the precautions which the enemy probably had taken to secure their ships from fire, have disappointed our hopes of a flaming result, but everything has been done to deserve success, and too much credit cannot be given to the artillery and engineers, whose exertions exceed all description.

General Bülow moves this evening. Our second division will march, as soon as they have cooked, to the quarters they occupied on the 1st—my brigade detaching the 35th to Denhoorst on its left—the first division will remain until dusk and then pass through to Brachsototen.

To-morrow we proceed again, and I conclude we shall resume nearly our former cantonments. Our casualties have been few, considering the nature of the service.

Y.R.H. will excuse this hurried scrawl, as you may conceive that I am tolerably busy.

I am quite well, and not a bit the worse for this fog.

Barclay is also well, but shocked, as we all are, at the scenes of distress and misery which war produces in this fine country. The French have not fired at all this day, and I doubt their molesting us on our march. . . .

H. TAYLOR.

February 6th.—Until this day the weather had been mostly dry and frosty; it now thawed; there was a heavy fall of rain and we had a very wet march. . . . Dined at General McKenzie's—he was unable to sit at dinner.

DUKE OF CLARENCE *to* LORD LIVERPOOL.

British Headquarters. February 6th.

MY DEAR LORD,

I was so suddenly called away by Sir Thomas Graham that it was not in my power at the time to inform your Lordship.

I must ever regret the fleet was not burnt; but at the same time the ships, without the greatest repairs, will never be able to put to sea. Two entire days and part of a third were dedicated to the most perfect and unmolested practice of our artillery against the ships and buildings.

We ought to have been crowned with success, for every exertion was made, and all ranks tried who could most do their duty. Our loss, thank God, has been but small; and Sir T. Graham did all in his power, and was well seconded by those under him.

Being, therefore, perfectly satisfied with the Commander-in-Chief and his gallant officers and men, I remain with the British army on the march, and shall continue with them at least four and twenty hours after they are in their permanent quarters.

Before I return to the Hague I shall pay a visit to the Duke of Saxe Weimar if he is at Breda.

I shall, however, write as circumstances arise, and if anything should prevent my returning to the Hague directly, you shall hear from me; but I am determined to proceed to those places only where my reception is secure and proper. . . .

WILLIAM.

GENERAL TAYLOR *to* DUKE OF YORK.

Loenhout. February 11th.

. . . I remain here in charge on the advance posts towards Antwerp. . . . There is not a path or road which I have not explored, and I feel quite at my ease here. . . .

This sort of duty interests and amuses me, and I should like to continue upon it if it were practicable, or if there were much prospect of further active employment, but my leave approaches its expiration, and I must be bending my steps homeward in ten or twelve days. I shall pass the Hague on my way, as I conceive I ought to take leave of the Prince of Orange, and have some little matters to arrange there.

By the last accounts General Bülow was at Brussels and his advanced parties at Quivrain. There are garrisons in Valenciennes, Condé, etc., but they are ill supplied.

The Saxons have relieved the Prussians at Lier, etc. The French have about 10,000 men in and about Antwerp.

They lost 500 men at Merxem on the 2nd, but with exception of two, which were much damaged, their ships suffered little from our fire, and few persons of any description were killed in the town. Some buildings near the arsenal and basin were destroyed. . . .

The weather here for the last few days has been lovely; the roads are getting good, and the country in general drier. My brigade is beginning to look very clean, and the duty is done regularly and cheerfully.

I have apprised Sir T. Graham that I must give it up on the 20th, and I shall quit it with the more regret as I have reason to think he would have continued me on the advance duties whether stationary or in motion, which is exactly what I could have wished; but I feel that I cannot apply for any further extension of leave, and there is nothing actually going on which can afford a sufficient plea for my so doing.

Two deserters who came in from Antwerp this morning report that there are 8000 men there, very ill-fed—that they are working at Deurne, but not at Merxem—that they have patrolled no further than Schoten and Eeckeren—that our shells fell chiefly in the town—that the garrison had suffered little—but 75 inhabitants had lost their lives. . . .

H. TAYLOR.

SIR THOMAS GRAHAM *to* GENERAL TAYLOR.

Groot Zundert. February 14th.

. . . Nothing can be better than all your arrangements, and I am sure if the enemy were to come, he would find

himself disappointed in any hope of surprising or cutting off any of these posts.

I was yesterday at Hoogstraeten, and I am more than ever convinced that General Borstell managed ill—or rather that the whole manœuvre was bad; for it would have been very certain to have forced them back from Hoogstraeten without any loss at all, had the greatest part of the Prussian force marched by the great chaussée of West Wesel; and had the enemy remained too long we might have got round into his rear, and forced him to escape across the country.

At the churchyard a quarter of a mile from Hoogstraeten the French maintained their ground for two hours, though nothing would have been so easy as to go all round them. . . .

There is a most disgraceful and distressing outrage at Rosendaal—two officers broke into a cellar, and robbed it of wine, making two artillery drivers assist them. . . .

. . . THOMAS GRAHAM.

February 14th.—I went to Hoogstraeten, six miles distant, with Captain Deering. . . .

The Burgomaster told me that this place and the entire commune were wholly exhausted and ruined for years to come by the passage and residence of troops, French, Russian, and Prussian, injuring and seizing upon everything—wasting more than they consumed—paying for nothing—and beating and ill-using those who, having completely been pillaged, had not any longer the means of satisfying their demands—that many had left their homes and fled to the wretched cottages in the woods to avoid such ill-usage—that the peasants were in a state of anarchy—treated with contempt the authority of the magistrates—helped themselves to the wood and timber belonging to the commune, and cut down the fine avenues, etc.

The
devastation
of the
country.

This account may be considered as applying to any town, village, and district in this part of the country.

LORD YARMOUTH to GENERAL TAYLOR.

Brighton Pavilion. February 10th.

. . . Your two letters reached me here yesterday, having been a very long while on the road.

Pray make the arrangement you propose about my cavalry, and pray draw upon me for the money my groom may want.

I have bought some more horses, so the thing I wish the least is to see the blacks here again.

I have been obliged to come here to bathe, being still dead lame and carried in a chair. I am most anxious to return as

soon as the weather mends, and I am able to lodge myself comfortably without being a burden to those kind enough to feed me.

The Prince has been extremely unwell—very alarmingly so for two days. It is now blown over, but if he does not take exercise and sit less in hot rooms I fear his health will break up.

The Princess Charlotte is quite ready for the ring; Castle-reagh has announced it to the Allied Sovereigns and I believe obtained an arrondissement and frontier to make Holland a more respectable sovereignty. We believe he went not to treat for peace at a Congress, but, as the foreman is obliged in many trades to do, to repair the blunders of his journeyman, Aberdeen.

It seems it is not yet settled whether Parliament is to meet for business or not on the 1st. Without our foreman we shall work but moderately under Vansittart¹—notwithstanding it is a Dutch name—and if we adjourn after so long an adjournment we shall be setting a very unconstitutional precedent.

They talk of the daughter of your visitor espousing the son of Lady Augusta Murray—breeding in and in with a vengeance.

We look for news to your side of the water, except what comes from Lord Wellington, and I fancy that is far from favourable—the country people like us less, and Soult gains strength whilst Lord W. dare not bring forward the Spaniards lest their plundering should raise the country against him, and he cannot bring forward his cavalry for want of forage—getting with great difficulty enough for his artillery horses.

I saw a letter two days ago from a person high in rank, saying that if the people of the country declared for Soult the British army would be destroyed.

I have had a letter from Captain Watson saying our parcel is still on board—the weather having been too rough to permit its being landed in the Orford river.

Remember me most kindly to Barclay, and pray believe nobody wishes more sincerely or more anxiously that all your undertakings may be attended with the honour and success I am sure they deserve.

Ever yours,
Y.

GENERAL TAYLOR to DUKE OF YORK.

Loenhout. February 17th.

... A gentleman of Antwerp who escaped three days since (M. Comte) came to me this morning. He appeared

¹ The Chancellor of the Exchequer—afterwards created Baron Bexley.

well informed and intelligent. He states that on the 2nd the French lost at Merxem between six and seven hundred men—that on the 3rd our shells were thrown with tolerable effect, and better still on the 4th, when several ships were on fire—but that under the direction of Carnot extraordinary efforts were made to extinguish the fire, and the ships were not very much damaged.

The energy of Carnot.

The inhabitants seemed convinced that we had no wish to injure the town until the 5th, when our shells were thrown too far—many falling into the Scheldt—others into the town, of which many houses, particularly those near the Basin, were destroyed or injured—that about forty inhabitants had lost their lives and many more wounded—that Carnot had confined in the citadel about twenty of the richest individuals—that he was turning out of the town all who could not lay in four months' supplies for themselves—that there was that supply for the garrison, but the troops were miserably fed—that many more would have deserted if they had not feared to be stripped and otherwise ill-used by the Prussians—that when we first appeared in January there were not provisions for one month in the town, and if the communication by the French *tête de Flandres* had then been cut off, the town would ere this have been starved out—that a repetition of the bombardment was expected, and extraordinary measures of precaution were being taken by Carnot—that the ships were to be removed from the Basin into the Scheldt on this day. . . .

My own plans remain settled, and I shall probably have the honour of seeing Y.R.H. in little more than a fortnight. . . .

I conclude that Bülow and the Saxons will ask Sir T. Graham to extend to Lier, which will give him a most extensive line . . . perhaps the best thing he could do would be to approach very near to Antwerp and in a manner invest it on this side the Scheldt, but something must then be left to observe Berg-op-zoom.

I leave this place for headquarters to-morrow, and shall certainly suggest this alternative if he should ask my opinion. The Dutch are doing nothing; not a soldier of theirs have we seen this side the Meuse, excepting two or three battalions at Breda—and Prussian, Saxons, English, all are crying "Shame."

I shall quit headquarters on the 22nd and possibly reach the Hague on that evening. . . .

H. TAYLOR.

GENERAL TAYLOR to DUKE OF YORK.

Groot Zundert. February 21st.

. . . Sir Thomas Graham has said more about me than I deserve, as the business was nearly done before my corps came up, and we were little exposed to any fire. The orders

received were, I believe, punctually obeyed, but I regretted they did not admit of a more rapid advance.

As I suspected, the Saxons have applied to Sir T. Graham to occupy Lier, but he naturally hesitates.

He has sent Colonel Smyth of the Engineers to look at the post, and he has also sent Major Stanhope to the Crown Prince to represent these difficulties, and to urge his sending some troops to Lier, etc., to preserve the communication.

As it is, his line is too much extended, and would be much hazarded if the enemy were enterprising. The alternative of contracting it by advancing towards Antwerp and confining the enemy appears objectionable on account of the exposure of the troops to be much harrassed, and always on the alert, while it does not constitute a blockade.

The proposed
attack on
Berg-op-
zoom.

There is also some scheme for attempting to surprise Berg-op-zoom. The success of this with the arrival of the troops from Germany would make a great difference in Graham's situation. . . .

I have sent my horses to Willemstad, and shall start early to-morrow on my way to the Hague. . . .

. . . H. TAYLOR.

Taylor leaves Headquarters for the Hague on his return to England.

February 23th.—Arrived at Rotterdam at 10 a.m.—put up at the hôtel *Maréchal Turenne*—sailing boats on the Meuse proceeding with great velocity over the ice.

February 24th. Hague.—Came to the Hague about 1—called on Lord Clancarty, and afterwards at the Prince of Orange's. Dined at Lord Clancarty's, where I met Lady Castlereagh, the Greffier Fagel (Colonel Fagel's elder brother), etc.

At 8 I went with them to a tea assembly at the Prince of Orange's, which was numerously attended, but very dull. The room being very small and very hot I came away at 10.

SIR THOMAS GRAHAM to GENERAL TAYLOR.

Groot Zundert. February 24th.

Sir
Thomas
Graham's
farewell.

. . . I must conclude. I fain would tell you how much I miss you and how sincerely you are regretted by all the corps, but to me personally, I feel the loss beyond what I can

express. Adieu, and may health and happiness ever attend you. . . .

THOMAS GRAHAM.

February 25th. The Hague.—Colonel Robert Fagel came to me this morning, having just returned from a mission to the Prince Royal of Sweden, whom he left at Cologne—his troops moving very slowly. The Prince Royal had told him that Major Stanhope had been with him with an application from Sir T. Graham for some reinforcements, and that he talked of sending Walmoden's corps into Holland.

I received an invitation to dine with the Prince of Orange (as I conceived), but it was from the Princess Dowager and misdelivered by my servant. I went to the Prince's, where there was a large party, and where I was received as if I had been invited; but at dinner a message came from the Princess Dowager to say she hoped to see me before I set out for England. I went there after dinner and learnt the mistake—stayed nearly an hour with H.R.H. and her daughter the Princess of Brunswick.

At the Prince's I met the Prussian Major Dumoulins, who told me he had been sent by the King of Prussia to hurry the arrangements *en train* here for raising and organizing a military force, and he complained bitterly of the dilatoriness for which insufficient pleas were offered.

The Prince, on the other hand, complained that the Prussians were unreasonable, and that General Bülow had actually left 12,000 Prussian troops in Breda, Bois-le-Duc, and other Dutch garrisons, which might be brought into the field instead of consuming the resources of the country.

February 26th.—Called on Colonel Fagel and met there Colonel Cruise of the Nassau regiment, and Major Dumoulins. The latter repeated his lamentation at want of exertion and activity in the Dutch Government—particularly the War Department over which General Bentinck still presides; and Colonel Fagel heartily joined in the sentiments.

I then called on Lord Clancarty, and left the Hague at twenty minutes past twelve. Arrived at Helvoet between 6 ^{Arrival at} Helvoet. and 7—found every house full; after various unsuccessful efforts, I found a small room without fireplace at a gin shop—the receptacle of all the English sailors. I then called on Captain King of the "Jason"—met Captain Hamilton, the sailing Captain, and secured a passage with Lord Duncan.

February 27th. Helvoet.—Lord Clancarty's dispatches had not arrived, and sailing was put off.

I walked with Captain King in the dockyards and on the ramparts.

The regiment of Nassau on duty here, deserted from Soult's army to Lord Wellington—sent to England and was shipped from thence to the Meuse—two transports with four or five hundred men lost off the Texel—many Spaniards arriving here who have escaped from French prison—the officers looking like anything but officers or gentlemen—the men filthy and sickly—all sent on board an English transport for conveyance to England, etc.—numbers of English sailors, masters of trading vessels, etc., also arriving who have escaped from French prisons. Frost continuing very hard.

February 28th.—Passengers desired to assemble on the pier for embarkation at 6 this morning—not less than eighty in number, and the packet a small one. Wind continuing high, with enough ice in the Channel to prevent our sailing. Waited on the packet until half-past eight, and then gave up the point.

A sergeant of the 35th, who had escaped from a French prison, stated that Buonaparte had been defeated in a general action on the 19th—more Spanish prisoners coming in—their officers grumbling at the accommodation afforded on board the transports. Thaw and snow in the afternoon.

BARON FERDINAND HOMPESCH¹ to GENERAL TAYLOR.

Dusseldorf. February 26th, 1814.

. . . Many thanks for your letter of the 9th. I was much interested in the particulars of your operations towards Antwerp, and am happy that you had your share in it, because I know it must give you satisfaction and pleasure when you return to your less warlike but more meritorious operations at Windsor.

The occasion of this letter is my having sent off part of a wild boar ready prepared in a small cask directed to you at Windsor. On the outside is written "*Game*," and if it does not make its appearance soon you had better get some one to make inquiries at the Custom House at Harwich.

It will keep for four or five months, so that you have time either to keep it for your own eating or give it to some friend in England. The sauce to it is some mustard, a good deal of pounded sugar, mixed with some lemon juice, and a little Provence oil—otherwise everything is to be eaten—jelly and all—the cask excepted.

A few days ago I was introduced to the Crown Prince

¹ Brother of Baron Charles Hompesch, whose character is described in Chapter V.

of Sweden at Cologne. He talks well, and I like his manner, but he still does not seem to be in any manner of hurry, and the quantity of ice in the Rhine will, I fear, prevent the Swedish army which arrived—the van yesterday, and the rest in succession opposite Cologne—from crossing over. In the Duchy of [illegible], where the greatest part of my property lies, neither the organization nor the arming of the people goes on—there seems to be collusion and jealousy between the Russian and Prussian commanders as to who is to have the direction of affairs, which is the reason; and as I conceive I might be particularly useful there, under those circumstances I have written to Lord Castlereagh to acquaint him of them, and offering my co-operation.

What the result will be, I don't know. However, I shall have as usual, probably, the only consolation of the consciousness of having tried everything in my power to do something towards the general cause; but am rather more interested this time, as my country and the cause of Germany particularly is at stake. The moment I have an answer I intend to be off for Bavaria, if I cannot be useful here. . . .

FERDINAND HOMPESCH.

March 3rd.—Anchored in Harwich harbour at half-past eight—landed towards 10, and passed the baggage through Custom House without much difficulty—breakfasted at the *Three Tuns*—called on General Wilton, and left Harwich between 1 and 2. Slept at Witham.

March 4th.—Left Witham at a quarter before 7 a.m.—arrived in London at the Duke of York's soon after 12. Called with him at Carlton House—did not see the Prince—left my name at the Princess Charlotte's—saw Lord Bathurst—dined with the Duchess of York.

March 5th.—Went to Windsor with the Duke of York.

March 6th.—Returned to London—dined with the Duke of York.

Major Stanhope's Conversation with Bernadotte.

MAJOR STANHOPE to GENERAL TAYLOR.

Kalmthout. March 4th.

MY DEAR GENERAL,

You have so often gratified my curiosity and excited my interest with the different interviews with the Prussians

you had met in this country, that I cannot help considering it as a kind of debt I owe you to send some account of my interview with the Crown Prince the other day at Cologne, as I think there are some interesting circumstances attending it which strongly mark the man. His countenance, manners, etc., have been too long the subject of dilettante labours, both of the pencil and pen, to make it worth my while mentioning them. I will equally omit his readiness to give us Walmoden's corps, and the thousand complimentary things he said about General Graham.

Where his conversation became most interesting was on my stating to him York and Sacken's defeats, of which he had not heard. His observations are nearly verbatim, as I wrote down the conversation on leaving him:—

"All content, we have been exposed to a reverse. You others who have saved Spain have sometimes also been obliged to retreat; so we must not despair. But, you know, Monsieur, that we have advanced without order and without method, in order to get to Paris!

"That is not all. I have indeed told them all that; and if they had believed me we should now have 25,000 men in battle array. I see the allied army wasting away. Above all they must avoid a check, or we shall have to prepare our minds for sending people into all the *Départements* to say we wish for peace.

"We are even more tired of the war than France, but we wish to beat a wicked man who has made us all unhappy.

"We heartily wish to be in our homes again—to see our fathers, our wives, our children, our Penates.

"But, believe me, Monsieur, Buonaparte stirs the nation. We are involved in violence and pillage which cannot be avoided with large armies. By receiving a check we give him 50,000 men more. And where are *we*? General Bülow is between strong places. *We* have not one. We must have Maestricht! (Turning to an officer.) Where is our bridge? Not one! The Rhine is blocked with ice. How can we pass it? Impossible. If the allied army were truly beaten, all the *Départements* would rise, and we would be obliged to lay down our arms. I do not say that it will arrive. I hope the cause is assured, but I point out the bad combinations."

On the subject of peace in the same conversation the Prince said, "But there is nothing I fear so much as peace. How can we leave this ambitious man to again put in force whatever he wishes? The four *Départements* and Belgium would leave him less strong; but we must destroy him—and if the war continues he is lost."

In a conversation the next day, the Prince talking about the war and Buonaparte said, "Great God! What evils this man has produced to France! He has demoralized Europe,

which will resent for fifty years the effects of corruption which he has introduced. One must find Princes *wise indeed* to remedy the abuses of the century.

“Denmark cannot be of long duration (*curious his mentioning that country he has just had so good a slice of himself*) if we do not look after it. When one has the habit of pomp and luxury, of calumny and (so to speak) of accusation, it takes a long time to purify oneself.”

I will not increase the length of this letter by the number of complimentary things he said about our having saved Europe in Spain—of Buonaparte being *perdu sans remède* if Lord Wellington commanded the Allies, etc., as it is all *very French*. But I heard from excellent authority strong and curious proof of the high estimation he has for Lord Wellington’s military talents. The Emperor Alexander sent him from Frankfort a plan of the future campaign for his inspection and advice. The Prince brought in many arguments against leaving the fortresses in France in their rear, and deduced them from the difference of the war in Germany and France, and from theoretical principles, and ended by saying that he founded his opinion principally upon the *practice* of the greatest general of the age; for Lord Wellington before he entered Spain took Ciudad Rodrigo and Badajoz, and, before he advanced over the French frontier, San Sebastian and Pamplona.

I did not see the Swedish army as it could not cross the Rhine. I saw a good many Russians, whose conduct has been abominable towards the peasantry. Nothing but the extraordinary suffering of the country from the French would make them bear it. I heard an anecdote at Aix-la-Chapelle which is generally acknowledged as having happened to an inhabitant of that place, which may give some idea of the horrors of conscription.

A person had three sons, two of whom had perished in the Army at the period of the retreat from Moscow.

The exemption of a man’s *only* son was withdrawn, and the only one allowed to be excused service was the son of a *widow*. To save his last child he committed suicide.

There are plenty of men in all the towns, but much misery; and the number of uninhabited houses is enormous. . . .

JAMES HAMILTON STANHOPE.

THE BISHOP OF SALISBURY to GENERAL TAYLOR.

Seymour Street. March 7th.

MY DEAR GENERAL,

I must first congratulate you on your safe return to this country. I shall then trouble you with a few lines on a subject of some delicacy.

I have, in so many instances, experienced the value of your friendship to me that I should be unworthy of it if I did not inform you that a certain young lady¹ is both hurt and *offended* that you called at her door, left your name only, and expressed no desire of seeing her. She complained of this to me with some warmth, and added that it was the second time you had served her so—that you had promised to call upon her on your way to the Continent, which you had not done, but satisfied yourself with leaving your name then, as you have now done. Now, my dear sir, you doubtless have good reasons both for what you do, and for what you do not do, as you are so well acquainted with the whole *Carte du pays*. I do not presume to offer you any advice. Allow me only to express a wish that, if strong reasons do not prevent you, you would see our young friend again as soon as possible.

I trust you will pardon me for taking this liberty with you, and that you will believe me, with much regard,

Yours faithfully,

J. SARUM.

March 8th.—At Lord Bathurst's met Lords Liverpool and Mulgrave,² and it was proposed to me to proceed towards the end of the week to Holland, and to communicate verbally to Sir T. Graham the intentions of His Majesty's Government in consequence of the dispatches received yesterday from Lord Castlereagh.³ Returned to Windsor and saw the Queen, who agreed to my going provided my absence did not exceed fourteen days.

March 13th. London.—Dined at the Duke of York's—met Lords Liverpool and Bathurst, Counts Lieven⁴ and Merveldt, etc. Account received by Major Stanhope of the failure of the attempt made on Berg-op-zoom on the 8th—determination manifested by Ministers to strengthen Sir T. Graham's corps by every possible exertion—Militia Brigade which was on the point of embarking for Spain now to be directed to Holland.

March 14th.—To the Duke at 12—saw Major Stanhope, and received full explanations of failure at Berg-op-zoom—imputable chiefly to Lieut.-Colonel H—, of the 21st, and Colonel Carleton not following strictly instructions received,

¹ The Princess Charlotte. The Bishop was her tutor.

² He was Master General of the Ordnance at this time.

³ It was the wish of the British Government to induce Bernadotte to combine with Sir T. Graham against Antwerp.

⁴ The Russian and Austrian Ambassadors.

and afterwards to the Royals for quitting their post without orders.

Saw Lords Bathurst and Liverpool, and received verbal instructions for proceeding to Sir T. Graham and the Crown Prince at the Hague.

The Failure of the Attack on Berg-op-zoom.

SIR T. GRAHAM to GENERAL TAYLOR.

Kalmthout. March 18th.

. . . I have this instant received by the mail your two letters, my dear General, of the 4th and 7th, but as this is our mail day, and a good deal of it spent already, I can do no more than most sincerely thank you for so soon taking the trouble to write to me, and so fully.

You would, I trust, understand my not writing by Stanhope. The subject is still too painful to think of almost. I am, however, satisfied that if I can blame myself for anything, it is for having placed more confidence than I ought in such young troops. At the same time I considered them much improved in steadiness by the Merxem campaign, and that they were less likely to run wild after plunder and wine than older soldiers.

But above all, I could not reckon on their leaders behaving like subalterns—carrying handfuls of men on without support or order—to be uselessly sacrificed. It is quite heartbreaking to have had such a melancholy result, instead of that which would have been that of good conduct.

You know how constantly before I scouted the idea when there was but *one* point of attack supposed practicable; but when Lieut.-Colonel Smyth assured me that Van Gorham had satisfied him that three attacks could be made with a fair prospect of success, and that he and his father-in-law de Beere (dead, poor fellow, of his wounds) would be the guides to the centre and left attack, the case took quite a different aspect, and especially considering the importance of having such a thorn from our side removed as Berg-op-zoom (reinforced) might become—and its value as a point of *appui* to cover Zealand, etc., on the probability of the enemy being enabled to return to this frontier.

The value of Berg-op-zoom seems never to have been considered at home, if I may judge from Bunbury's letters. Even now, I should be glad to begin with taking it before attempting Antwerp, so much importance has it in my eyes.

I suppose and hope that the Government will send back

French prisoners immediately, and so save sending those home who came out of Berg-op-zoom. . . .

T. GRAHAM.

MAJOR PARKINSON to GENERAL TAYLOR.

Tuesday. March 22nd.

MY DEAR GENERAL,

I have just learnt of your sudden arrival again among us, and lest you should go off as suddenly without affording me an opportunity of paying my personal respects, I take the liberty of enclosing copy of a statement which I considered it my duty to make respecting the late affair at Berg-op-zoom.

I received a letter from Mrs. Parkinson saying that she had heard from you. I beg you will accept my best acknowledgments for this mark of attention.

I remain, etc.,

E. PARKINSON.

(Enclosure.)

MAJOR PARKINSON to COLONEL GRAHAM (*Military Secretary to Sir T. Graham*).

Kalmthout. March 11th.

SIR,

As it is possible that opinions may be formed prejudicial to the troops employed in the late affair against Berg-op-zoom, I feel it is a duty which I owe to the gallantry and good conduct of the 33rd regiment to state the following particulars for the information of His Excellency the Commander of the Forces.

The 33rd
regiment
in the
affair at
Berg-op-
zoom.

Upon Lieut.-Colonel Elphinstone being wounded at the first attack on the night of the 8th, I succeeded to the command of the regiment. This attack having failed, the regiment retired and formed in column on the Wouw Road in rear of the 69th.

Shortly afterwards I received orders from Major Muttlebury commanding the 69th to move on in his rear, and was informed that we were destined to support the Guards who had made a lodgment on the works of the place. We accordingly marched, and got into the place between 1 and 2 o'clock on the morning of the 9th. At this time, from the loss which we sustained at the first attack, our entire strength was under 300 men. About 4 o'clock I was ordered by General Cooke to proceed with the regiment to the lower or water gate, then in possession of the Royal regiment, and to place myself under the orders of Lieut.-Colonel Muller, the commanding officer.

This order was immediately obeyed, and we remained in a very exposed situation from that time; the Royal regiment having occupied the passage to the bridge, and the bridge itself at the water gate.

At about 9 o'clock General Cooke came to our position; and at this time we discovered that the enemy was in pursuit of a party of the 91st, which had been cut off. General Cooke ordered the 33rd to advance to their relief, which was immediately done, but as there was a wide and deep ditch between the enemy and us, it was deemed impracticable, and the situation of the 91st became endangered from our fire, which it was impossible altogether to prevent. We were accordingly withdrawn, and returned to our former position.

The fire from the enemy on our position increased from this time, and I discovered that he was approaching the water gate along the ramparts, but as I supposed the gate and bridge to be in possession of the Royal regiment, General Cooke and Colonel Muller having gone there only a short time before, I felt secure on that point, and continued to defend our front until I discovered the enemy getting round our right towards our rear, and likewise busily employed in getting guns to bear on us from the ramparts. I then sent to Colonel Muller to inform him of these particulars and requested his orders; when to my astonishment, it was reported to me that he had withdrawn through the gate, and that not a man of the Royal was to be seen.

My next object was to effect a junction with the Guards if possible; and with this view I retired to the ramparts where I could see what I considered to be their posts; but as there was no appearance whatever of our troops towards that point, and the enemy had collected a considerable force on our right, there was no doubt left in my mind that they had also retired.

Thus situated, with the regiment reduced to little more than 200 men, and attacked by a very superior force, with cannon and musketry in front and on flanks; deprived of any point of communication or support and without orders, I considered that it was my duty to make every possible effort in order to save the remnant of the regiment and colours from falling into the hands of the enemy; and I immediately took the resolution of retiring over the works and ditches of the place to the river and inundation, trusting to the ice for a passage along the face of the works towards the point where we first entered. This was fortunately accomplished, not without loss, but without suffering a single prisoner to be taken that was not previously wounded.

I have, etc., . . .

E. PARKINSON.

Taylor's Mission to Bernadotte.

GENERAL TAYLOR to DUKE OF YORK.

Kalmthout, March 22nd.

. . . I embarked from Deal on the morning of the 17th, and, besides contrary winds or calms, was at anchor nearly forty-eight hours in fogs on the Dutch coast—got to Admiral Young at 11 yesterday morning, and arrived here between 9 and 10 this morning in various conveyances, and more out of patience than ever with the Dutch, who seem determined not to give the lie to the character I had given them.

I have had little conversation yet with Sir Thomas on the subject of my instructions, but shall stay here to-morrow to collect information, and proceed on the following day to Liege, where the Crown Prince is still reported to be.

The little I have heard confirms me in the belief that I shall have uphill work with H.R.H. . . .

H. TAYLOR.

March 24th.—Left Kalmthout about 7; proceeded by Brecht, West Malle, and Herenthals to Westerloo; roads very bad, and travelling slow.

March 25th.—Arrived at Liege, Hôtel d'Hollande, at twenty minutes before one; dressed and called on Mr. Thornton.¹ Learnt from Mr. Addington that he and the Crown Prince were gone to Aix-la-Chapelle—determined to follow immediately—no post horses to be had—with difficulty procured a chaise and pair to take me the whole way.

I had proceeded about three leagues, and was baiting, when I was overtaken by a carriage with a Swedish officer in it, who stopped by mine, got out, and appeared as if desirous to take his seat in it. He incidentally said that he was running after the Prince Royal. I said I was on the same errand. Upon which he replied, "Then you are probably General Taylor, for whom I gave an order for horses?—my carriage is broken, I shall leave my servant. Will you leave yours, and allow me to proceed with you, as my business is very pressing?" I readily agreed, and, to my surprise, he ordered the postillion to drive to Verviers, to which place, and not to Aix-la-Chapelle, he assured me the Prince Royal had gone. I soon found he was the Prince Royal's Chief of the Staff and confidential officer, Count Lowenfyden. . . .

March 26th. *Verviers.*—Between 11 and 12 I was summoned

¹ British Minister at Stockholm.

to the Prince Royal, and was with him nearly an hour; but he talked so incessantly that I could with difficulty state the object of my mission.¹

GENERAL TAYLOR to DUKE OF YORK.

Kalmthout. March 29th.

. . . I returned here yesterday after a longer and more tedious trip than I had bargained for. The cross-roads are in a dreadful state, really not to be conceived—and through which I crawled in chaises and waggons at the rate of about two miles an hour. I returned by Malines and Lier.

The driver brought me between our furthest advanced posts and the town of Antwerp, of which I had another peep much against my intention on this occasion, for to have been carried into it by a French patrol would not have been very agreeable. However, it so happened that they kept closely housed on this side, more than one-half of the garrison having marched to Ghent to join General Maison. . . .

. . . I conclude that Y.R.H. will learn from Lord Bathurst the result of my visit to the Prince Royal, which I fear will prove far from satisfactory, although I endeavoured to execute my instructions to the best of my abilities.

Both he and Mr. Thornton had left Liege when I got there, and I followed the Prince to Verviers; and after seeing him I went to Aix-la-Chapelle in search of Mr. Thornton, which was putting the cart before the horse, though I should have missed the Prince otherwise, and at all events, I conceive that either would have proved very immaterial.

H.R.H. is by far the vainest and most conceited man—the greatest egotist—I ever saw, and when I return to England I can exemplify this to Your Royal Highness.

His sudden resolution of going to the allied headquarters—the bad roads—winds and fogs—and the circumstances under which I find everything—all have combined against my performing this mission in the fortnight allowed.

The Prince of Orange, Lord Clancarty, etc., are engaged in

¹ *Note on Bernadotte.* "The Crown Prince of Sweden had his political as well as his military ends. He was cunning, reserved, and untrustworthy—as a soldier he was a mixture of capacity and incapacity. Moreover, fear of Napoleon, his former master in warfare, made him downright cowardly. . . . The conflicting views of the Crown Prince and the Prussian generals were apparent from the first."—"Cambridge Modern History," vol. ix.

"Although the abilities of Bernadotte were unquestionable, and he had on more than one occasion rendered important services in the course of the preceding campaign, yet his disinclination, itself natural and unavoidable, to push matters to extremity against his own country and comrades was very apparent, and the hopes which he secretly nourished of being called, on the fall of the present dynasty, to the throne of France, rendered him in the last degree unwilling to be associated in the minds of its people with the days of their national humiliation and disaster."—Alison's "History of Europe."

fêtes and ceremonies at Amsterdam, and it would be useless to follow them there on business, but I hope Lord Clancarty will be at the Hague on the 2nd, and if so I may embark on the 3rd from Helvoet. . . .

H. TAYLOR.

March 30th. Kalmthout.—Rode with Sir Thomas Graham, Colonel Cathcart, and Colonel Smyth to Eeckeren to take a view of Antwerp, the Basin and the Scheldt, from the church steeple. Day hazy, but observed four large ships in the Scheldt in the Basin at intervals, and two others above the town. The rest with a number of gun brigs apparently within the Basin. The country between Eeckeren, Lier, and Merxem inundated as far as St. Ferdinand's dyke, which appears now inaccessible by the Polder—no works at Merxem, and only occasionally occupied by a small picket—new works thrown up at Deurne; proceeded on the dyke beyond Wilmerdonk until we approached near to a French picket—observed seven or eight ships building apparently under the fire of the citadel—went to Oorderem—observed the French at work on the dyke leading to Lillo along the Scheldt—beyond Oorderem inundations to cover Lillo. . . .

April 1st.—Left Kalmthout at 6.30 with Sir G. Wood—arrived at Willemstad 12.30. Crossed over to Blute sluis at 2 p.m. in showers of rain—arrived at Rotterdam soon after 9—and at the Hague by midnight.

April 2nd. Hague.—The Prince of Orange and family, and Lord Clancarty still at Amsterdam for the ceremony of the coronation.

Called on both early this morning and learnt that they would not return before 4 p.m. this day, when the Prince would make a public entry, for which great preparations were making by illuminations, etc.—obliged in consequence to defer my return to England until next packet (of the 6th).

Called again on Lord Clancarty towards 4 o'clock—found him just returned; he told me that all had gone off admirably at Amsterdam—also that the Hereditary Prince was to have the command of the body of Dutch troops assembling to co-operate with Sir Thomas Graham's corps, etc. Colonel R. Fagel called upon me in the evening.

April 3rd.—To Lord Clancarty at 12—obtained all necessary information—accompanied him to P. of Orange at 2. Very satisfactory conversation on all points to be discussed.

From thence to the Hereditary Prince, where I found

Prince Frederick and the young Prince of Nassau Weilburg—returned to Clancarty's and wrote to Sir T. Graham.

SIR THOMAS GRAHAM *to* GENERAL TAYLOR.

Kalmthout. April 2nd.

. . . You will see by Walmoden's letter sent to Lord Clancarty what a bad hand General Thielman has made of his attack on Maison. It appears too that Maison will be at the head of a formidable corps which, well managed, will keep that frontier in a constant state of alarm.

I am forced on this account to suspend the projected operation against Batz which I had settled should be conducted by Major-General Gibbs; I foresee that it will be almost hopeless to expect any assistance in the blockade of Antwerp from Walmoden. . . .

April 3rd.—I have letters from the Duke of Saxe Weimar and Walmoden of which I send you copies which will all elucidate the subject on which you will have to report to Lord Bathurst.

I shall write to Walmoden to say that, fully sensible of the superior importance of watching the enemy's movements, I approve of his remaining on the frontier. But I write at the same time to the Duke of Saxe Weimar to say that I cannot continue to furnish troops for the occupation of that post of Lier, which being for the purpose of their own communications they must make arrangements to protect—and that in a few days I shall recall the two Dutch battalions sent there on the spur of this occasion.

Meanwhile, the garrison of Antwerp, weak as it is, will have the command of the country almost entirely as far as the Nether, and entirely so of the rich country on the left of the Scheldt, so that the reduction of the place by blockade, now the numbers of the garrison is reduced, is very hopeless. . . . All this tends to confirm strongly the opinions we agreed in here, that at present there can be nothing attempted against Antwerp, and that after the operation against Batz is over, and perhaps one against Berg-op-zoom, if it were not likely to occupy much time, this corps if continued at all would be more useful in Brabant than anywhere. . . .

General Cooke showed me yesterday a long letter from his brother, lamenting sadly the want of a proper head to the finest army he ever saw, but which, from want of that, is disheartened to the greatest degree, retreating with above 100,000 men before Buonaparte with 60,000, and giving up Soissons, the occupation of which would have put it in Blücher's power to destroy the French army, etc., etc., etc.

It is very certain that they all seem to shrink from Buonaparte himself; and now if Paris should be able to resist, there is no saying what consequences may ensue from the wavering and timid measures of the Allies, who seem to be guided by no system. Adieu, my dear General—good voyage and good health—I wish I could add a speedy return to us. . . .

THOMAS GRAHAM.

April 4th. Hague.—Called on General Fagel—then with Lord Clancarty to the Princess Dowager—then to see the Maison de Bois, a fine salon painted by Jordaens. Dined at Prince of Orange's—intelligence brought to Lord Clancarty during dinner from Sir Thomas Graham of the victory gained by the Allies on 30th March near Paris—and the fall of the city.

April 5th. Helvoet.—To Lord Clancarty, and left the Hague at 1 p.m. for Helvoet Sluys, where I arrived between 7 and 8, having dined at the Briell.

Sir THOMAS GRAHAM to GENERAL TAYLOR.

Kalmthout. April 5th.

Graham
reviews
the
altered
situation

. . . The favourable accounts of the *esprit public* at Paris brought to Brussels by an A.D.C. of the King of Prussia who left it on the 1st, would almost make one hope that things will soon come to a crisis in France, and that the complete downfall of Buonaparte's government cannot be distant.

Till, however, the defection of some of the armies gives a good example to the rest, he will remain formidable in his struggle, from the superiority of his military talents, and the possession of all the fortresses.

It would, therefore, seem more necessary than ever that there should be a considerable force, prepared to act on the frontier as circumstances may direct.

The chance of being able to undertake any operation against Antwerp is not in the least degree increased by the late events. Should Maison with a part of his force be called into the interior, a proportionate part of the Saxons and other troops employed to watch him must follow his movements. There would still remain the permanent garrisons of all these fortresses to look after.

The war, if protracted, may take such a turn as to bring the greatest part of the French army up to the line of these strong places—or at least considerable reinforcements may be sent to Maison's corps.

All these chances operate against undertaking the siege of Antwerp even if a sufficient number of troops could be obtained, till a more determined state of things should give a better probability of its proceeding without interruption.

Meanwhile we shall be very ill-employed here. The Dutch troops about to assemble might do all that we do with regard to the interruption of the communication between Antwerp and Berg-op-zoom, and holding the kind of blockade of both places—especially of the latter. And we should certainly be much more in the way of being of real use if more forward, and nearer to the quarter from whence any attack could come, or towards which it might be made. . . .

. . . Hitherto Maison does not appear to have made any movement. Walmoden is gone back. He regretted much his having missed seeing you. He is quite convinced there is nothing to be effected from the Prince Royal either here or at Maestricht. Nothing but the command of a great army in France will induce him to employ the Swedes at all. . . .

April 8th.—Received your letter of the 4th. It seems to me so probable that the events and the declaration at Paris may induce changes at home, that I should not think it right to carry this corps further off, without hearing from Lord Bathurst after your return to England, unless very imperious circumstances make it absolutely necessary to move southward.

I may be mistaken, but the declaration of the Allies against Buonaparte seems to make the early possession of Antwerp, were it obtainable, of much less consequence, and that the reduction of some place which should give security to the communications would be of more immediate value.

Meanwhile General Maison completely stops the road by Mons, having yesterday morning advanced from Valenciennes and St. Amand, to within a league of it. . . .

It will be some time, I fear, before any more news can be expected from Paris, owing to the communications being so intercepted. Adieu, my dear General; you must have a fine passage, which I rejoice at. . . .

THOMAS GRAHAM.

April 6th.—Sailed from Helvoet at 5 p.m. Among the passengers were the American Commissioners, Messrs. Galatin

and Bayard, with suite. The packet crowded, and very uncomfortable—much fog. Anchored off Goree.

April 7th.—Weighed at 6 a.m.—wind fair, but continued fog.

April 8th.—Landed at Harwich between 11 and 12. On my arrival at the Bull Inn, found a letter from Mr. Bootle,¹ dated 4th inst., containing the afflicting account of the death of my dear brother Bridges, drowned near Brindisi.

General Ferguson, who was about to embark for Holland, called on me and was extremely kind and friendly, as indeed were all those who came near me.

I left Harwich about 1—got to Romford at 7—passed the night there.

April 9th.—Arrived in London at a quarter before nine a.m. and went to the Duke of York's.

SIR THOMAS GRAHAM to GENERAL TAYLOR.

Kalmthout. April 12th.

MY DEAR GENERAL,

You will believe my sincere regard for you is not merely in your public capacity, but as one who has forced himself into my most true attachment. You will not, therefore, think me intrusive when I venture to assure you of my great anxiety about you, and my sincerest sympathy.²

Events in France have succeeded one another so rapidly, and so much to every honest man's wish, that unless we should somehow be getting into a quarrel with the new King everything here will and must turn out satisfactorily.

Yet it is not pleasant to be in the situation I am in. We had invested Batz, and I have reason to believe that Berg-op-zoom could not last long. Yet it is impossible now to treat the French as enemies, seeing that Maison and the Duke of Saxe Weimar dine together, and that all French soldiers wear the white cockade.

I must conclude—God bless you, my dear General. . .

. . . THOMAS GRAHAM.

P.S.—Buonaparte arrested by his own staff, and confined in the Pope's apartment!

¹ Mr. Wilbraham Bootle, General Taylor's brother-in-law.

² Referring to the death of General Taylor's brother.

QUEEN CHARLOTTE to GENERAL TAYLOR
on his return to England.

Windsor. April 13th, 1814.

SIR,

No absence can ever make me forget a friend, and particularly one who on all occasions has uniformly shown himself attached to the King and all the family.

I do feel most sensibly the proofs that you have given me of your attention when my situation required that advice a friend only could give; and I trust that I shall not forfeit the continuation of it by forgetfulness.

Accept as a proof of my remembrance in the year 1814, the Christmas box which was intended for 1813, and believe me sincere when I say that I shall ever be happy to offer you these trifles as a mark of my regard.

CHARLOTTE.

CHAPTER IX

1814-1818

Captain Bridges W. Taylor, R.N.—A Curious Dream—Letters from the Princess Charlotte, the Duke of York, and Queen Charlotte—References to the Death and Character of Queen Charlotte—Her Will—Letter from General Taylor to the Prince Regent.

THE campaign in 1813-1814, into which General Taylor had entered with so much zest and good will, was over; and, as events turned out, it was the last occasion on which he had the chance of taking his share in active military service.

Short as that service may have been, it had, nevertheless, brought him once more into close touch with actual warfare and active camp discipline.

At the very moment of his return to England in April, he was suddenly confronted with the news concerning his brother.

Captain Bridges Watkinson Taylor, whose letter describing Nelson's attack on Santa Cruz has already been given, was at the time of his death serving in the Adriatic under Rear-Admiral Sir Thomas Fremantle. He was captain of H.M.S. "Apollo," and commanded the station off Corfu. Late in March, news came home that he had been drowned by the upsetting of his gig in returning to the "Apollo" from Brindisi, where he had landed with Major Arata (of the Corsican corps) in search of information respecting a French frigate.

The following letter to his Admiral—possibly the last he ever wrote—gives an account of some preliminary operations before his proposed attack on Corfu—an attack which he did not live to carry out:—

CAPTAIN BRIDGES W. TAYLOR *to* REAR ADMIRAL SIR T. F.
FREMANTLE.

H.M.S. "Apollo," Channel of Corfu. February 16th, 1814.

SIR,

It blowing very hard from the northward, on ye 6th I took the opportunity of running to Zante to propose measures

for commencing hostilities against Corfu—and as a preliminary to take the island of Paxo.

His Excellency Lieut.-General Campbell readily came into my views and gave me a *carte blanche* for all the troops which could be spared from Santa Maura, with a few of the 2nd Greek Light Infantry from Cephalonia, and placed these forces under Lieut.-Colonel Church of the latter corps.

On the 13th we landed under the lee of the island in a hard southerly gale and rain, with the above Greeks, a party of seamen and marines of the “Apollo,” and a detachment of the 35th Regt. of the Royal Corsican Rangers, making in the whole, 160 men.

The movements of the troops under Lieut.-Colonel Church through the length of the rugged island were so rapid that we gave the enemy barely time to prepare for resistance; and, in consequence of their confusion, succeeded without firing even one musket.

The force of ye enemy were 122 men (without the militia), and an inclosed fort of three guns well calculated for a defence against a surprise, being upon an elevated island which forms the harbour.

I have the honour to be, etc.,

B. W. TAYLOR.

I find this extract of a letter from Admiral Fremantle :—

March 6th, 1814.

“I am in dreadful low spirits all day, having received an account of the death of my sincere friend Captain Taylor, of the “Apollo.” It appears he went on shore at Brindisi in his gig, and in returning on board the boat over-set, and he, with all his boat’s crew, were drowned.

“I wish you would break this unhappy affair to Wilbraham Bootle or some other of the family.

“He was the man of all others I was most attached to, and was the most amiable creature possible.”

There is a curious account of a dream in connection with Bridges Taylor’s death, and I give it here in Sir Herbert Taylor’s own words :—

“In 1829 a Captain of the 17th regiment came to me at the Adjutant-General’s offices, and in detailing his own service, mentioned having known my brother in the Adriatic, and remarked that Major Arata’s dream shortly before his death was a very extraordinary circumstance.

“I had never heard of it, and he told me that he (Captain —) was sitting at breakfast with a person who lived with

Major Arata, and by whom he had several children, in a small island of the Adriatic (Curzola, I think), of which he was Commander, and that Major Arata had come in late, and had excused himself by saying he had been much disturbed by a dream.

“He had dreamt that Captain Taylor had called off the island in the “Apollo” to take him on board. They had proceeded off Brindisi—had landed there, and on the return to the “Apollo” the gig had upset, and they and the crew had been drowned.

“Madame Arata immediately said this was a warning from Heaven to enforce the performance of the promise he had so often made that he would marry her, and thus legitimize their children (R. Catholics), and that he ought not to delay it further. He yielded. They went at once to church, and Captain —— was the witness of their marriage.

“A few days later, my brother *did* call for him in the “Apollo”! All in the gig were drowned.—H. T.”

Soon after General Taylor's return to England he received the following note from Princess Charlotte :—

PRINCESS CHARLOTTE to GENERAL TAYLOR.

April, 1814.

MY DEAR TAYLOR,

I cannot sufficiently thank you for the very beautiful drawing you were so kind as to send me just before dinner—indeed, I am quite delighted both with the subject and the execution of it, which is quite masterly, and I must add, I think your *chef d'œuvre*.

It was quite a kind attention of yours, as I had so often, and so long wished for something of your doing, and I shall have very great pleasure in hanging it up in my room in London, where, if you should ever chance to be long enough there to pay any visits, I shall be very happy to show it to you. Believe me ever,

My dear Taylor,

Yours most sincerely,

CHARLOTTE.

PRINCESS CHARLOTTE to DUKE OF YORK.

Warwick House. June 6th, 1815.

DEAREST FREDERICK,

You are always so very kind to me that I do not feel the least scruple in asking you a favour. . . .



CAPTAIN BRIDGES WATKINSON TAYLOR, R.N.



MARY ELIZABETH TAYLOR.

(Lady Skelmersdale.)

From pencil drawings.

I know your box at Covent Garden is in general engaged, but if it is not promised for Saturday, might I beg it of you for Lady Kate (?) and Miss Spencer, who are anxious to see Miss O'Neil in "Isabella"?

Should that night not suit you, and you can lend it for another, it would be quite the same, as the object is to see Miss O'Neil—and a box can hardly ever be got.

You have all my best wishes for Ascot; do not fail to let me know if you win, dearest Frederick.

Ever your very affectionate niece,

CHARLOTTE.

The following four letters from the DUKE OF YORK to MAJOR-GENERAL TAYLOR refer to the Duke of Cumberland's marriage and Queen Charlotte's objections thereto.¹

Stable Yard. June 21st, 1815.

DEAR TAYLOR,

It was so late yesterday when I finished my list, that it was out of my power to acquaint you, for Her Majesty's information, with the particulars of my conversation with Lord Liverpool; I therefore take the first opportunity this morning to resume my pen and tell you that I called upon Lord Liverpool a little after 12 o'clock, when I learnt that he had been previously summoned to Carlton House. I therefore returned at 3, when I found him at home. Upon my mentioning to him that I had Her Majesty's commands to communicate to him the copy of her letter to the Duke of Cumberland, he told me that the Prince had already shown it to him.

I then asked him his opinion of its contents—to which he answered that every one must approve of the sentiments it contained, but that it was to be wished that the letter had not been sent at the present moment, as it had put the Prince and the Duke of Cumberland in a very awkward predicament; to which I replied that Her Majesty had no choice; that her sentiments and resolutions had already been declared, as he well knew, to the Prince in writing, with a desire that he would communicate them to the Duke of Cumberland upon his arrival; that upon the Prince acquainting Her Majesty the week before last with the intelligence of the Duke's marriage, and that he might be daily expected here, she again repeated her request that he would inform him of her sentiments, which

¹ The Duke of Cumberland had married at Strelitz on May 29th, 1815, his cousin, Frederica Caroline Sophia, daughter of the Duke of Mecklenburg-Strelitz, widow of (1) Prince Frederick of Prussia, and (2) of Prince Frederick of Solms Braunfels. The Queen's objections and her reason for refusing to receive the Duchess were on the grounds that the latter had been a *divorcée*.

he positively refused, upon which she had no other way left, painful as it must be to Her Majesty, but to make the communication to him herself. . . .

He then asked me if the Queen could be persuaded to withdraw her letter to the Duke of Cumberland, to which I immediately answered, "Certainly not"—that Her Majesty had always been against the marriage—that she had repeatedly stated this to his brother—that she had taken this step from a conviction that she was acting right, and that she owed it to her own character, to the poor King, and to her family to stand firm, and that as to the awkward situation in which the Prince found himself, I regretted it for his own sake, but that it was wholly his own fault, as about eleven months ago, when he first mentioned the intended marriage to me, I had warned him and told him what must be the inevitable consequence of his taking the line he had done.

The part of the Queen's letter which appears to annoy both the Prince and the Duke of Cumberland the most, is the mention of the Princess of Wales, and with reason, as it is the point they can never get over.

The Prince also lays a great stress upon a letter which the Duke of Cumberland says that the Queen wrote some time ago to his bride, inviting her to England. . . .

FREDERICK.

Horse Guards. August 28th, 1815.

. . . I beg you to present my dutiful thanks to Her Majesty for her great goodness in allowing you to inform me of what passed between the Prince and her yesterday, and which, I am afraid, cannot but have worried and annoyed Her Majesty very much, though it has not induced her to depart from that line of conduct which has done, and must ever do, her the greatest credit.

The Prince's language to me this morning in speaking about the King of Prussia was very different from what he held out to Her Majesty yesterday. No word was mentioned against Hanover, and the only way in which it was at all noted, was that, as His Prussian Majesty was not before on good manners, the refusal to receive the Duchess of Cumberland would increase it. It might make him more obstinate in his desire to get possession of a part of Hanover. That His Majesty is very indignant upon this business, I have no doubt.

The Prince has insisted on my assisting at the wedding to-morrow morning,¹ and would not hear of my excusing myself on account of not being able to dress. I must therefore go. . . .

FREDERICK.

¹ The re-marriage of the Duke of Cumberland, according to English rites, on August 29th.

Cheveley. October 3rd, 1815.

. . . I am glad to learn that the Prince's answer to the King of Prussia's letter (which, by all accounts, was very intemperate) is dignified and firm. As to his being as anxious as anybody to get the Duke and Duchess of Cumberland out of this country, I have not the least doubt of it, neither of the Duke's obstinate determination to remain, and to brave the business, save that I do not quite see that it is the wisest line that he can take, considering both his own unpopularity and that of the Prince.

The weather here is charming, but though it is a terrible sacrifice, yet I have determined not to attempt to shoot this week, trusting that by the week after I may be perfectly recovered. There is great plenty of partridges, I understand, in many places here, but it is very partial—others being quite without birds, which is attributed to the little corn in spring to cover the nests, some of which have been destroyed, or at least, the eggs eaten by the crows.

Our sport on the turf is but bad this week, but we have a very quiet, pleasant society here at Cheveley which is perfectly proper for a convalescent like me. . . .

. . . FREDERICK.

Horse Guards. October 14th, 1815.

I cannot say that I thought the Queen's answer to the Duke of Cumberland too kind; it was exactly in union with all her declarations that she had no quarrel with the *Duke*, and (barring that she could not receive the *Duchess*) that she wished him very well. . . .

. . . The *Duchess* (of York) has written to me to-day to inform me of her having had a word from *Madame de R*—who told her that the *Duchess* of Cumberland was anxious to quit England immediately—that the King of Prussia had strongly advised her to do so, but that the Duke would not hear of it, and wanted the *Duchess* (of York) to give her opinion of it.

The *Duchess* for a length of time declined, but at last told *Madame de R*—that to *her* she had no difficulty to say that she thought that the Duke and *Duchess* had nothing else to do than go away, and the sooner they were gone the better for them, as the King of Prussia had promised to protect her, and that there was no chance of the Queen's altering her decision. . . .

. . . FREDERICK.

LETTERS FROM QUEEN CHARLOTTE.

1816-17.

The marriage of the Princess Charlotte with Prince Leopold of Saxe Coburg took place at Carlton House on May 2nd, 1816. During her brief married life she and her husband lived mostly at Claremont, which had been bought for them as a country residence.

The Princess, to the universal sorrow of the nation, died the year following her marriage on November 6th.

QUEEN CHARLOTTE to GENERAL TAYLOR.

Brighton. February 27th, 1816.

SIR,

As we may now talk of the secret which everybody knew long ago, I ask either your advice or your leave, whether or not I may without any impropriety offer the Prince of Coburg one of the houses at Weymouth where he prefers to go to, as a more retired place than Bath, until a few days before the marriage which is expected to be in about a month.

Pray answer me, for I shall not name it to anybody. All goes on swimmingly between the two—and I hope it may do, if he gains the upper hand. . . .

CHARLOTTE.

Frogmore.

QUEEN CHARLOTTE to GENERAL TAYLOR.

Queen's House. March 10th, 1816.

SIR,

I cannot let another day pass without returning you thanks for the interest you take in the improvement of dear Frogmore—as also for the very clear manner in which you state how the work may be continued in as elegant a taste by diminishing the expense—a circumstance which you may easily believe did rejoice me very much.

I have the pleasure to inform you that I shall, by the 10th April, put into your hands £1000, which will enable us to go on without interruption; for by experience I have found it more convenient to be supplied with a little more than was stipulated, as accidental errors and mistakes may unexpectedly arise for which it is always better to be prepared. I beg once more to return you thanks, and to assure you that by the manner you have arranged it, my small but sweet possession will become every day more delightful to me.

CHARLOTTE.

QUEEN CHARLOTTE *to* GENERAL TAYLOR.

Queen's House. June 26th, 1816.

SIR,

The inclosed I received at the same time that the Windsor letters were brought, and thinking it a letter from dear Sophia, opened it without looking at the direction.

Judge then of my surprise when I saw the name of Ernest¹ when I opened it. I trust to your judgment upon this occasion, which I have always been the better for, what ought to be done. He did return one of my letters, and I then thought in case he should write again to me, to do the same—but as this treats of a different subject it may perhaps alter the case.

The Duke of York was in the House when the letter came, and I thought it more advisable not to show it to him.

Whatever you decide, I shall abide by, being convinced that I can never err by following your well-digested advice.

CHARLOTTE.

QUEEN CHARLOTTE *to* GENERAL TAYLOR.

Queen's House. June 28th, 1816.

SIR,

I convey again a letter from the Duke of Cumberland in answer to mine of yesterday's—neither the style nor the matter are of the most civil, and I leave it to your judgment to take notice of it or not. . . . I shall either be silent or write as you think proper.

The Lord Mayor's letter to Lord Morton in which he mentions my coming to the Mansion House was not in a manner sufficiently respectful to take notice of by me; for his words, I think, as far as I recollect, are, "if Her Majesty would come to the Mansion House, it would bring a large society and everybody would be finely dressed," but he says not a word else, and therefore I look upon it more as sounding my Lord Chamberlain if such a thing could be brought about; and knowing also that this is a trial for Charlotte to go there, which the Regent will not allow, I thought it best to pass it over in silence, but should a second attempt be made, I shall most certainly decline the invitation with all possible civility to the Lord Mayor and the City, with whom I hope to be in good friendship.

I will only add how sorry I am to be the cause of so much trouble to you, and desire you to believe how sensibly I feel your readiness to assist me upon all occasions. . . .

CHARLOTTE.

¹ The Duke of Cumberland. There had been an estrangement after the Queen had refused to receive the Duke's bride.

QUEEN CHARLOTTE to GENERAL TAYLOR.

Queen's House. June 23th, 1817.

SIR,

We have obtained our wish of warm and seasonable weather, which rejoices the heart of every well-wisher to the country, and yet as it always happens, cheerful as it is to many, it has also proved painful to some, and amongst those I am sorry for your being amongst the number, as it has deprived me of seeing you in town as also of meeting you to-day at Mr. Long's.

The month of July is so near that I am desirous to know your opinion about what time I can have the prospect of having the cricket match. My reason for this is that the Duke of Gloucester has invited the whole family for the 22nd of July—his wedding-day—to pass with him in the country—and Eliza, who will not give her party till mine is over, I should consider, would, of course, wish hers to take place before the town is quite empty; and we must therefore contrive not to be in the way of one another.

I hope that the hay at the place where the tents must be erected will be made, and if you could guess about the time it could be, I should be glad to know, that I might give a hint to some of my friends who I should wish to have there. I have spoken to Goertz about the tents to look them over, which I hope he has done, and particularly the one I have in former times made use of for the Royal Family to dine in—which I think would be proper to be put up, as the Prince has promised to come.

I had the pleasure of seeing Mrs. Northey¹ on Thursday. She looked so young that I would advise her to call her daughters, sisters—for few can believe by her looks that the delicate little creature is the mother of those young ladies she brought to Court.

We are lucky in our day, and I look forward to a very pleasant party, and regret that you will not be there. . . .

CHARLOTTE.

Queen Charlotte's last days.

In May, 1818, General Taylor was appointed one of the trustees for the marriage settlement of the Hereditary Princess of Hesse Homburg (Princess Elizabeth).

On August 31st, 1818, the condition of Queen Charlotte being very precarious, General Taylor wrote to the Prince

¹ General Taylor's sister.



CHARLOTTE (TAYLOR).

Wife of the Rev. Edward Northey, Canon of Windsor.

Regent asking him to consider the position of Her Majesty's old and faithful servants at Windsor and Frogmore; adding that—

“the clamour which has been raised for economy and reduction may so far prevail as to deprive many individuals of the means of future subsistence, who from age and infirmity—habits acquired during protracted service, and unfitness or want of opportunity for engaging in new courses of life—cannot look forward to fresh sources of support.”

He goes into some details as to their salaries, and offers to give further particulars if desired. He especially pleads the cause of Mrs. Beckedorff¹ and her daughter, whose services have been so long and of so arduous a nature. He further remarks that if the Queen should die without making a will, it would be impossible to apply any part of her property to the advantage of the individuals in question; as it would by law go exclusively to the King—and he continues—

“the Queen's property is mostly of a personal description—Frogmore with Shawe's Farm being Crown domain granted to Her Majesty and the Princesses for 99 years if they shall so long live.

“Having noticed this I take the liberty of submitting that from what has occasionally dropped from the Queen, it would appear that Her Majesty imagined she could so dispose of Frogmore under the Grant, and that Mr. Claridge, her steward for that property, had confirmed her in that opinion. . . .

“I have taken the liberty to submitting this to enable Y.R.H., if you shall think proper, to take such opinion as shall remove all doubt whenever this point shall unfortunately become a question for decision. . . .

“H. TAYLOR.”

GENERAL TAYLOR to DUKE OF YORK.

Kew. November 1st, 1818.

SIR,

The poor Queen saw the Duchess of Gloucester after Y.R.H. left us yesterday, and at a later hour Sir H. Halford; and it is impossible to deny that the state in which both (and also Sir F. Milman) describe her, affords ample evidence of the deep impression made by what has been communicated to her, and the alarm it has produced on her mind. She went so far as to ask Sir H. Halford whether he considered the danger *immediate*; she acknowledged to him that she wished to live, and she was in so nervous a state that he felt called upon by

¹ The Keeper of the Robes.

his duty, and by the common feeling of humanity, to say all that he could to soothe and encourage and afford relief to her agitated mind, without, however, disguising from her that her state was not free from danger. Her spirits were subdued, but all she said was free from irritation, most kind towards all, and uttered with a seeming anxiety to acknowledge her obligations to the physicians for their kindness and attention and to express her sense of the attention of her own family; to which she added a strong regret that she could not see Y.R.H. and the Prince, as she felt quite unequal to the exertion; and now more than ever dreaded its effect upon her frame.

She became more composed towards night, but that composure appears to be the effort of great exertion.

Her Majesty was restless until 2. She had some sleep at intervals between that hour and 6, but upon the whole her night must be considered a very disturbed one, and her appearance this morning betrays evident marks of the continued effect of a communication for the full extent of which it would now appear that she was not prepared, although she had so pointedly called for it. It was, therefore, unavoidable.

I have, etc.,

H. TAYLOR.

The Queen passed away quite peacefully at Kew on November 17th, in the 75th year of her age. She died clasping the hand of the Prince Regent, with whom, in spite of occasional differences, she had always been on especially affectionate terms.

The Duke of York, the Princess Augusta, and the Duchess of Gloucester were the only other of her children who were actually present at her last moments. Her character, quiet and unostentatious, has often been discussed. Her natural instincts were to keep in the background; and this partially accounted for what has been called the "dulness of the court," even in her younger days.

There is a delightful simplicity and charm in many of her letters to those who she confided in and became attached to, though she never entirely mastered the English language.

Of her, General Taylor wrote in a letter to Lord Sidmouth: "The loss of the Queen will indeed be deeply felt by the whole nation, which cannot fail to do justice to Her Majesty's virtuous conduct during so long a period passed under manifold trials. But it will be more particularly felt by those whose immediate intercourse with Her Majesty, and close attendance, enabled them to appreciate the full extent of those invaluable qualities which did not meet the public eye."

In 1838, Lord Brougham having attacked Queen Charlotte's

character in the *Edinburgh Review*, Sir Herbert published a reply, of which I give the following extract:—

“ . . . No charge can be more groundless than that heretofore advanced, and now repeated in such unmeasured terms by the author of the Article, that parsimony and avarice were prominent features of Queen Charlotte's character; and the imputation can have arisen only from the circumstance that her expenditure, and above all her charities, were free from ostentation.

“ I speak from knowledge of fact—Her Majesty's receipts and disbursements having for some years passed through my hands. Avarice and parsimony, combined with a large income enjoyed during many years, would naturally produce hoards of treasure and accumulation of property. But it was shown by Her Majesty's executors, Lord Arden and myself, that there had been scarcely any saving. It was also stated that Her Majesty's private bounties and charities had been extensive; care was taken by us that justice should be done to Her Majesty's memory in this respect, and that the public should be undeceived. . . . I declare most positively that there is no foundation for the charge that Queen Charlotte was unforgiving and designing, prone to mingle in the intrigue of a Court or that 'her pride was boundless.' . . . Her confidence was not readily given, though, on the other hand, not hastily recalled from a person on whom it might, after due experience, have been conferred.”

Queen Charlotte's will was executed the day before her death. Her property consisted chiefly of jewels estimated not to exceed the value of £140,000. Lord Arden and Major-General Taylor were her executors.

Her house and grounds at Frogmore, and the Shawe Estate (held under lease of 99 years) she left to her eldest unmarried daughter, Princess Augusta Sophia, but desired that should the Princess be unable to afford to keep it up, it should revert to the Crown, and that due compensation for the value of the lease should be given to the Princess, whether it should please the Regent to receive these properties as an appendage to Windsor Castle, or to authorize any other disposal of them.

She further left her real estate at New Windsor (purchased of the late Duke of St. Albans), commonly called Lower Lodge, to her youngest daughter Princess Sophia.

The jewels were classed in three heads.

(1) Those which the King George III. bought for £50,000 and gave to the Queen she bequeathed to the House of Hanover.

(2) Those presented to her by the Nabob of Arcot she bequeathed to her four younger daughters, directing that

these jewels should be sold, and the produce divided among them.

(3) Those she had purchased herself, or which were given to her as birthday presents, etc., she bequeathed also to her four younger daughters without stipulation as to selling; as also her books, furniture, pictures, etc.

The funeral took place on December 2nd, and on the day following the Prince Regent appointed General Taylor to the Mastership of St. Katharine's Hospital, vacant by the death of Lieut-Colonel Disbrowe, and of which the patronage had lapsed to H.R.H. in consequence of the demise of the Queen.

GENERAL TAYLOR *to* THE PRINCE REGENT.

Windsor. December 23rd, 1818.

SIR,

. . . In acknowledging the honour of Y.R.H.'s gracious letter of this day and of the valuable and interesting present which accompanied it, I cannot do justice to the impression which both have made upon my mind; but I assure Y.R.H. they have been received by one who is grateful, as he ought to be, and who will study while he lives to prove his devotion to Y.R.H. and his zeal for your service. It is impossible to describe how interesting and how valuable is to me the box¹ which Y.R.H. has so kindly and graciously given to me, not only as containing most admirably executed likenesses of the dear and revered King and Queen, but as conveying in terms so flattering and so gratifying to my feelings, though so far beyond my merits, Y.R.H.'s approbation of my humble endeavours to discharge my duty to both, in doing which I have derived no small happiness from knowing that my conduct has obtained your favourable opinion.

I lost no time in obedience to Y.R.H.'s commands in conveying the miniature of the King to the Princess Sophia, who received it with the strongest expressions of her sense of your kindness and truly affectionate attention, and has ordered me to enclose to Y.R.H. the letter which I have the honour to forward.

. . . The fog has been so intense this day that we had hardly flattered ourselves that we should have the honour of seeing you; but the Princesses went to Frogmore where all the poor Queen's personals were arranged and divided into four lots, and in which state they will remain for Y.R.H.'s future inspection, every precaution being taken for their security. . . .

. . . I avail myself of this opportunity to send you a

¹ A gold snuff-box very beautifully designed. The portrait of George III. as a young man is on the outside of the lid, probably the work of Liotard. Within—also on the lid—is a portrait of the Queen, after the picture by Gainsborough, now in South Kensington Museum.



GOLD SNUFF-BOX.

Presented to Major-General Taylor by the Prince Regent shortly after the death of Queen Charlotte.



The Inscription engraved in the box.

collection of autograph letters of Charles I. and his Queen, and others which were found in an old box deposited in one of the lower passages of the Queen's palace into which they appear to have been thrown with some useless lumber.

Conceiving they might prove interesting to Y.R.H., I had put them by for you.

I have, etc. . . .

H. TAYLOR.

CHAPTER X

1819-1824

Letters from the Duke and Duchess of York—Death of George III.—General Taylor's Situation—Connection of the Duke of York with the Orange Lodges—Letters from Edward Taylor.

THE DUKE OF YORK *to* GENERAL TAYLOR.

Stable Yard. January 31st, 1819.

. . . One line to thank you for your letter, and to say that I am very glad to hear that you intend, if the Prince has no particular objection, to have all the remains of the poor Queen's effects which my sisters have not kept back, sold by auction, as I am convinced that you will find that they will sell for much more than we can (otherwise) venture to flatter ourselves.

This appears perfectly fair and just to all parties. I hope that your jaunt to Brighton will prove a pleasant one. Nothing could go off better than the Covent Garden Theatrical Fund dinner yesterday, and the collection was above fifteen hundred pounds, which is the largest sum that ever was known in that room.

Stable Yard. February 4th, 1819.

I am just returned from Oatlands, where I went yesterday to a dinner the Duchess gave to Monsieur and Madame de Lieven. I found the Duchess so far better as to be able to walk from one room to another, but looking very ill and thin, and complaining very much of her stomach. . . .

Stable Yard. May 7th, 1819.

. . . The Catholic question has been put off *sine die* in consequence of the indisposition of Lord Donoughmore. They would not allow me to attend the House, but I sent my proxy.

I continue to go on very well in every respect.¹

Oatlands. September 6th, 1819.

. . . One line to assure you how glad I am if the arrangement I have proposed about your appointment at Windsor suits you.

¹ The Duke had broken his arm a short time previously.

I have not failed to give your message to the Duchess, who begs me to wish you sincerely joy in the same, and to say that you do her but justice in being convinced of the keen and lively interest which she takes in everything which concerns you.

. . . FREDERICK.

THE DUCHESS OF YORK to GENERAL TAYLOR.

Oatlands. Le 28 Septembre, 1819.

. . . J'avais fait préparer tout ce qu'il se faut pour écrire avant de sortir, avec l'intention de me rappeler à votre souvenir, quand à ma retour de ma promenade j'ai trouvé votre lettre que le stage m'a apporté ce soir.

Recevez mes milles remerciements, et quoique j'ai regretté qu'il y avait si longtemps que Je n'avais pas reçue directement de vos nouvelles, Je l'ai trouvé très naturel dans ce moment et en vue des circonstances ; et J'aime à me flatter que vous remplirez l'espoir que vous me donnez de profiter quelquefois du voisinage de Fangrove pour venir ici.

Vous pouvez être sûr que vous serez toujours le bienvenu. Je vous prie seulement, quand vous en avez le project, de me le faire savoir, ou la vielle ou le matin de bonne heure, que je ne manque pas le plaisir de vous voir, comme cela me contrarierait beaucoup.

Quand, au commencement de ma lettre, je vous ai parlé du projet de vous écrire, c'était pour vous offrir mes vœux sincères pour le 29.¹

L'ancienne amitié qui je vous ai vouée ne me fera jamais oublier le jour. Mais j'avoue que je sens plus vivement encore le desir de vous réiterer cette année tous les souhaits pour votre bonheur, comme vous allez commencer avec cette époque une nouvelle carrière. Puisse qu'elle soit pour vous celle de toutes les félicités imaginables.²

Personne ne saurait s'y intéresser plus vivement que moi ; et par tout ce que vous me dites, et ce que j'ai appris au sujet de choix de celle à laquelle vous allez unir votre sort, je me plais à entrevoir un avenir aussi heureux pour vous qu'il est possible d'en trouver dans ce meilleur de mondes, que quelquefois on est tenté de ne pas encourager de cette manière, mais que j'espère en sera toujours pour vous.

Vous recevrez par les Princesses le petit cadeau auquel je me suis jointe à elles . . . puisse cette bagatelle rappeler quelquefois à votre souvenir une veille mais véritable amie.

Jé vais Jeudi à Windsor pour y rester jusqu'à Samedi. Vous m'y manquerez bien, mais je me flatte qu'aux deux jours

¹ September 29th being General Taylor's birthday.

² Referring to the General's approaching marriage.

de naissance en Novembre, les choses auront assez repris leur trait que je pourrai espérer de vous y rencontrer.

Jusqu'ici ma santé va assez bien. Je crains cependant l'approche de l'Automne, et du mauvais temps.

Voici six semaines que je viens passer bien seule ici, ce que devient pénible pour moi, comme ma vue s'affaiblit journellement, et que même d'écrire et de lire me fait mal le soir. Il faut se soumettre. Ce sont les infirmités de l'âge aux quelles tous devoient payer leur tribut. Adieu, God bless you; my best wishes and prayers will always attend you, and believe me most truly yours,

F.

P.S.—Dites un petit mot pour moi, je vous prie, “*alla bella sposina.*”

“*La bella Sposina*” was Charlotte Albinia, the eldest daughter of Lieut.-Colonel Disbrowe, the previous master of St. Katharine's Hospital. The marriage took place on October 5th.

Major-General Taylor and his bride spent a few weeks at Fangrove, an estate which he had purchased in Surrey—not far from Chertsey—and where he was building a new house.

They then returned to Windsor to a house which had been allotted to them by the Regent on their marriage.

During this year General Taylor had been made Knight Commander of the Guelphic Order.

DUKE OF YORK to GENERAL TAYLOR.

Stable Yard. November 24th, 1819.

. . . Many thanks for your two letters, which would to God could have contained more satisfactory reports of our beloved King.

Though I gather from them that there is no immediate cause for alarm, yet there is but too much reason to think that some serious change has taken place in his frame within the last three days, which, if not soon corrected will render his life not only precarious, but his speedy dissolution probable.

If I had followed my own inclination I should have immediately proceeded to Windsor, but the alarm would be so great if I did, that Lord Liverpool has decidedly advised my remaining here till danger becomes more imminent—which God forbid.

I trust to hear daily from you, as you may be able to let me know such particulars concerning him which cannot form part

of the physicians' report, and, indeed, a conversation may learn more of their respective private opinions than they may think fit to commit to paper in an official document such as the daily bulletin.

The debate in both Houses of Parliament went off famously yesterday. I never saw assemblies so dour, and evidently in our House a difference of opinion between Grey and Lansdowne.

Oatlands. November 28th, 1819.

. . . I am perfectly convinced from what I gathered from Dr. Baillie and John Willis, as likewise from old Bott, that whatever was the trouble with the poor King last Tuesday—is now quite over, and was the effect of the inclemency of the weather alone, and not occasioned by any bodily malady or intense cold. But it is certainly a proof of His Majesty's constitution not being any more as strong as it was twelve months ago, and that we therefore can no longer look forward with confidence to his life being much further prolonged.

Sophia begs me to thank you for your message, and to say that she gratefully accepts your offer of paying the different subscriptions which you mentioned for her, and that as soon as she knows the amount of them she will immediately remit to you.

Rendleston. December 9th, 1819.

. . . Many thanks for your kind letter, which, thank God, contains a more favourable account of our beloved King than it did last Sunday. . . .

We had excellent shooting yesterday in Lord Hertford's wood. We were only four guns, and were not more than three hours and a half actually at work, in which time we bagged 82 pheasants, 16 hares, 12 rabbits, and 15 woodcock. A great deal of game was lost for want of retrievers—many hares and two, if not three, woodcock, of which I never saw so many in one day—certainly not less than forty in the different woods.

Stable Yard. December 13th, 1819.

. . . I got back a little before 9 o'clock yesterday, having been on the journey only eight hours and a half, in spite of the snow and slipperiness of the road. . . .

Oatlands. December 19th, 1819.

. . . The state in which I found our beloved King is certainly for the present at least very satisfactory—both Sir Henry Halford and Dr. Robert Willis having assured me that he is in every respect stronger and in better health than he was

before the last alarm—attack it certainly was not—at least, both of them when pressed told me that they could not say what it was—that the most unpleasant fact now was the langour and apparent general weakness which had preceded the alarm, but that he had now completely recovered—that they, however, considered what had happened as a warning, and should from henceforth agree to be alert to do anything in their power to stop mischief upon the least apparent recurrence of any of those unpleasant symptoms.

I am glad to hear that all is going well at Kew. I will not fail to give your message to the Duchess, who will be very glad to see you on Christmas Eve.

I shall be curious to learn what you have done, or rather what you have failed to do, about the Arcot jewels.

Stable Yard. January 26th, 1820.

. . . Truly grieved am I at the very unfavourable account that you are under the necessity of sending me this day of our beloved King. Alas, the gradual decay seems now to be making great strides, and if not soon stopped it is impossible that he can last much longer. Thank God, however, that he does not suffer.

Stable Yard. January 27th, 1820.

. . . One line to thank you for your letter, which I wish to God could have contained a more comfortable account of our beloved King, but it is our duty to submit to the will of the Almighty.

If I followed my own inclination I should go to Windsor tomorrow, if it was only to judge myself of the real state of things, but there is such a fear of creating surmise and alarm, that I shall wait till Saturday, especially as there is no likelihood of any immediate event. I will then talk on many points with you, which may as well be decided at once.

Should the sad change come, however suddenly it arises, when I am not at Windsor, no time must be lost in sending for me, and I should think that from fresh appearances like those many other attacks, you should lock up the poor King's bureaux, etc.

. . . FREDERICK.

Two days later King George III. passed away, apparently without suffering. Alluding to this event in the following letter the Duchess of York seems to have been especially concerned in the health and future of the Princess Sophia, whose delicate constitution had for some years been a matter of great



THE DUCHESS OF YORK
(PRINCESS FREDERICA OF PRUSSIA).

From a Miniature.

anxiety to the Duké. The Princess had her troubles, as those who have read something of her life will understand.

The Duchess of York did not long survive the old king. Her death took place in the following August.

THE DUCHESS OF YORK *to* GENERAL TAYLOR.

Oatlands. Février 1re., 1820.

. . . Je ne saurais laisser repartir le Drague, mon cher Sir Herbert, sans le charger de quelques mots de remerciements pour vous, pour votre lettre, et que dans un moment où vous êtes si occupé, vous avez bien voulu me donner quelques détails sur des objets qui m'intéressent aussi, vivement. Car étant toute seule ici, je n'ai d'information que ce que les Gazettes peuvent m'apprendre, et si jamais j'ai regretté que ma santé ne me permet pas encore de sortir, c'est dans ce moment où sous tous les rapports, j'avais tant désiré pouvoir aller à Windsor.

Je suis mieux, mais faible encore, et beaucoup de difficultés de respirer. Peut-être que quand je pourrai recommencer à prendre l'air, et de l'exercice, cela se passera; mais aussi est-il presque impossible de se porter bien après des émotions aussi tristes et si rapprochées.

Quoique je n'ai pas été effrayée d'apprendre la mort de ce bon Roi (comme je prévoyais cet événement) j'en ai été fort affectée, car quoiqu'il était mort pour sa famille plus de 9 ans, son existence même pour ceux qui lui appartenaient, était un bien; quoique pour lui, moi, je suis parfaitement de votre avis, que c'est le plus grand bien que pouvait lui arriver; d'autant plus qu'après la vie exemplaire qu'il a toujours mené lorsqu'il jouissait de sa raison, on peut être sûr qu'il recueille dans un meilleur monde le prix de tant de vertus.

Je ne puis pas être aussi tranquille sur les conséquences de cet événement.

Je les crains surtout pour le Duc, et de toutes manières je ne puis pas m'empêcher de voir les choses en noir. Je crains aussi pour la santé et toute l'existence de la Princesse Sophie. Elle ne pourra jamais se trouver bien à Londres, quelque illusion qu'elle se fasse à ce sujet; mais il vaut mieux qu'elle en fasse l'épreuve. J'espère surtout qu'elle ne fera pas l'emplette d'une maison, mais qu'elle se contentera d'un pied-à-terre pour faire cet essai que je doute répondra à ses désirs. J'espère qu'après les tristes scènes auxquelles vous avez assisté, votre physique n'a pas souffert, car je suis sûre que votre attachement pour ce pauvre Roi, et la douleur du Duc vous aura bien affecté. Je me flatte aussi que vous n'avez aucun inquiétude sur la santé de Lady Taylor. Rappelez-moi à son souvenir, je vous prie, et

croyez-moi pour la vie, votre toute dévouée et sincère amie et servante,

F.

THE DUKE OF YORK *to* GENERAL TAYLOR.

Stable Yard. February 21st, 1820.

. . . I was quite surprised to find when I returned yesterday afternoon from Oatlands that you had been in town, and had called upon me, and am very sorry to have missed you, as there are one or two points upon which I should wish to talk to you should it not be long before you come to town again. You saw, I know, the King who told you himself of his intended kindness about giving you a regiment; I shall, therefore, not repeat it to you, and shall only say that you may depend on the first regiment of infantry that may fall vacant.¹ . . .

In the way that the King put it to you, you could not help agreeing to stand for Windsor, though I perfectly well know how unpleasant it will be to you.

FREDERICK.

Quite early in February the new King, George IV., had desired Sir Herbert Taylor to enter Parliament and stand for the borough of Windsor. The King had been very kind to him, and he therefore agreed, though he would willingly have declined if he could have done so with propriety. He had accepted the position of Military Secretary to the Commander-in-Chief, and was fully aware of the awkwardness of combining the two situations as to questions he might be asked in the House, besides having the whole of his time engaged.

DUKE OF YORK *to* GENERAL TAYLOR.

Stable Yard. February 23rd, 1820.

. . . I cannot delay acknowledging the receipt of your two letters, and returning you my best thanks for the friendly and handsome manner in which you have acquiesced in my wishes to undertake the arduous situation of my secretary which has relieved me from a very serious distress.

I have, fortunately, anticipated your delicacy concerning the King, in having this morning mentioned to him my hopes that you would accept of my proposal; with which he seemed much pleased, and said that he considered himself as having greatly influenced you by what he said to you last Monday in your

¹ Taylor, however, did not accept any regiment till three years later.

decision, so that your mind may be perfectly at ease on that score.

As we shall meet to-morrow I shall not enter upon other subjects now, and shall, therefore, only add that for every reason I am thoroughly of opinion that you have come to a most wise determination to part with Fangrove whenever you can find an eligible purchaser. . . .

FREDERICK.

Horse Guards. February 29th, 1820.

. . . . I have to desire you by His Majesty's commands to put yourself in communication with Mr. Barnard, the librarian, about bringing back the late King's great library from Windsor to the Queen's House. His Majesty thinks that there will be room to store the books in the old apartments, and that the bookcase may be equally moved back to the Queen's House. . . .

FREDERICK.

In April, Sir Herbert Taylor determined to give up his house at Windsor in order to be nearer his work. Accordingly he and Lady Taylor settled down at Little Camden House, in Kensington. This house had formerly belonged to his very intimate friend, Sir Harry Calvert. Here they stayed about four years—the General's time being fully taken up with his Parliamentary and Military duties.

In 1821 there appears the following reference to the Duke of York's connection with the Orange Lodges:—

Extract of Letter from SIR HERBERT TAYLOR to
H.R.H. DUKE OF YORK.

June 19th, 1821.

I am just returned from the meeting, and have been desired, and more particularly by Lord Sidmouth, to suggest to Your Royal Highness—as the best and, indeed, the only advisable means of extricating yourself from the embarrassment—that Lord Castlereagh should be authorized to state that “the Duke of York appears to have accepted of the Grand Mastership upon a conception that the objects of the Institution were not only praiseworthy but legal—that having learnt according to the opinion of His Majesty's law servants that the rules and regulations of the society are not such as the law will sanction, H.R.H. cannot consider himself any longer as a member of an association which he now finds to be subject to such objections.”

The above was at first suggested, but the Attorney-General remonstrated against any reference to legal opinion taken,

as the result would be a motion that he should be ordered to prosecute the societies.

It was then proposed that Lord Londonderry should state—"that Your Royal Highness appeared to have accepted, etc.," but that you had since satisfied yourself of the validity of the objections which had been urged to the rules and regulations of the society, and, therefore, could no longer consider yourself a member of an association liable to such objection.

. . . H. TAYLOR.

THE DUKE'S REPLY.

Oatlands. Thursday night, June 19th, 1821.

DEAR TAYLOR,

I cannot have the least difficulty in consenting to the explanation proposed to be made to-morrow in the House of Commons concerning my connection with the Orange Lodges by Lord Londonderry. Indeed, it is perfectly consonant to my feelings, as I certainly never should have agreed to belong to them in any way if I had imagined that there was anything political in them—much less if they were in any way illegal; and the moment that I know that they are considered so, I shall certainly give up all connection with them.

I think that this explanation cannot be in better hands than in Lord Londonderry's, who will I am sure say no more than is proposed. Should anybody throw out any hint that I had changed my opinion upon the Catholic question, I must beg that you will take care to say that you *know* my sentiments upon the subject, and that I never can alter them.

FREDERICK.

In 1823 Sir Herbert, finding his double duties becoming too severe and arduous, gave up his seat in Parliament, and by the King's desire he accepted the command of the 85th regiment. He had previously refused two, if not three regiments, saying that in the situation he held he felt more independent without one.

In 1824 the house at Kensington was given up, and another taken in Cadogan Place.

EDWARD TAYLOR¹ to SIR HERBERT TAYLOR.

Bruchsal. September 13th, 1824.

MY DEAR HERBERT,

We left Munich (with great regret) on Thursday last, the 9th. On Saturday we got to Stuttgart and dined with Mr. and Mrs. Wynn. Yesterday we went to Ludwigsburg

A family letter.

¹ Edward Taylor, of Bifrons, Kent, the eldest brother of Sir Herbert.

to dine with the Queen Dowager of Würtemberg¹ who received us with much kindness and was very gracious; but Her Majesty complained of being unwell and appeared to be suffering very much. . . .

It is unnecessary to tell you how much we have enjoyed our visit to Brook. It has been particularly gratifying to me to witness the high esteem in which he is held by every one to whom he is known in Germany, and particularly by the Court of Bavaria, and also to see the very liberal and handsome manner in which he fills his public station.²

He is in excellent health and spirits.

We passed nine days with the King and Queen of Bavaria at Tegurem and at Berthengaden, and dined with them also at Nymphenbourg and at Biterstein; at the last place on purpose to take leave of them.

Our intention is to start very early to-morrow morning for Heidelberg, and then to proceed to Paris as quick as we can by Metz. . . .

Paris. Sept. 20th.—We got here safe and sound at 12 o'clock in the day yesterday, after a most prosperous and pleasant journey from Munich, 544 miles, without meeting with the smallest accident.

We travelled all night from Bruchsal—stopped three hours at the castle at Heidelberg—only changed horses at Manheim—and supped at Dürckheim—breakfasted at Sarbruch and slept at Metz. . . .

The marriage³ is intended to take place on Saturday next the 25th, at Sir C. Stuart's.

The death of Louis XVIII. occasions little or no sensation here or in those parts of France which we passed through; and as yet the mourning is not at all general. The French observe carelessly, "Le Roi est mort, mais nous en avons un autre." It is expected that Charles X. will not change anything in the Administration.

He was greatly affected when he addressed the Corps Diplomatiques, etc. I saw him pass in great parade yesterday with the rest of the Royal Family from St. Cloud to the Tuileries to sprinkle the dead body of his brother with holy water. He was very little cheer'd by the crowd, which was very great, both going and returning. His coach and that of the Dauphin were of purple, drawn by eight horses, each in purple harness; four more carriages with six horses were black covered with crape. I understand the late King was not sensible that he was dying, and he dozed gradually into death.

¹ One of the daughters of George III.

² Sir Brook Taylor was at this time the Minister Plenipotentiary at Munich.

³ Between his daughter Mary and the Hon. James Knox.

He observed during his illness, that if he died, he had the consolation of knowing that his successor would go on with the Government of France as he should.

I am told that the people say they know very little of the new King. Many are very apprehensive of him as a violent bigot; but he will have one great advantage over his brother in being able to show himself to the public, and to ride on horseback. Had this event happen'd five or six years ago, Paris and France in general would not have been so quiet as it is now. . . .

Paris. Sept. 27th.—Mary was married on Saturday and was attended in the Ambassador's Chapel by the Lady Northland, Captain and Mrs. Knox, Miss Knox, Sir C. Stuart, Lady Glenlyon, Sir Edward Stopford, I. Bligh, Colonel Thornton, Colonel and Mrs. Gibbes, Sir James Stronge, the Rev. J. Brownlow, Baron de Meyendorff (the Russian Envoy to Spain), and ourselves, viz. Mrs. Beckingham, Louisa, Loui, and myself.

Lady N. gave a great breakfast to all the party; and at 7 o'clock fourteen persons dined with us.

The newly married couple set off for Versailles. They are to pass fourteen days here, and then to pay us a visit for a fortnight at Brussels, where we intend returning on Monday the 4th October.

My fingers are so cold I can scarcely write—being just come in from seeing the great entry of Charles X. into Paris.

Unfortunately it has been raining all the morning and is also very cold; but the King was very much cheered; and it has evidently pleased the Parisians to see him come in on horseback. He was looking well, and acknowledged the cheering with grand good humour. I will write to my sister by the next courier. . . .

Most affectionately yours,

E. T.

In May, 1825, Sir Herbert became a Lieut.-General, and in 1826 was invested with the Knight Grand Cross of the Guelphic Order.

CHAPTER XI

1827

Letters in connection with the illness and death of the Duke of York—His Military Career—Sir H. Taylor's Appointments—Letters from India: Major-General Nicolls—Lord Combermere—Colonel Willoughby Cotton—Colonel the Hon. J. Finch—Captain Archer—Colonel Tidy.

TOWARDS the end of the year 1826, General Taylor became very uneasy about the state of the Duke of York's health, who had been attacked with dropsy since July, and during the last few weeks of the year he was seldom absent from the house in Arlington Street which had been lent to H.R.H. by the Duke of Rutland.

On June 24th H.R.H. had gone for a change of air to Brompton Park, Mr. Greenwood's house; and on that day he sent for General Taylor, desiring him earnestly to inform him whenever the doctors should think his life in danger—seeing that they themselves would in all probability conceal from him the real state of things.

In August H.R.H. removed to Brighton, and on the 17th Taylor was informed (by Dr. Macgregor) that symptoms had occurred which betokened danger. He therefore went down to Brighton and confirmed the Duke's suspicions which had arisen from the reserved demeanour of some of his attendants.

DUKE OF YORK *to* SIR HERBERT TAYLOR.

Pavilion. August 21st, 1826.

DEAR TAYLOR,

I cannot send the letters up of this night without writing a line to thank you for your kind visit, and to say what a comfort and relief it has been to my mind. Believe me, I am by no means cast down about myself. On the contrary, I feel bold as to ultimate cure; but I did not like the appearance of distrust or want of personal determination to meet whatever it may please Providence to send concerning me. My mind is now relieved, and I know that I shall never be placed in the same situation again.

I have had a good night, and certainly continue in every way to gain ground in my general health. It will soon be seen

whether, as my strength returns, the unpleasant symptoms may give way ; or if it may not, I wish my medical advisers to attest them with thoroughness.

. . . FREDERICK.

SIR HERBERT TAYLOR to KING GEORGE IV.

Arlington Street, August 22nd, 1826.

SIRE,

Your Majesty will, I am confident, be graciously pleased to forgive my submitting to you the enclosed copy of a letter which I have had the satisfaction of receiving from the Duke of York. It offers ample proof that I was not mistaken in the estimate I had formed of the strength of H.R.H.'s mind or of the firmness with which he is prepared to meet the possibly fatal result of what he considers a struggle between the powers of his constitution and the progress of his formidable disease.

It also proves that, although aware of his situation, nothing has passed which has produced discomfort or increased uneasiness ; on the contrary, that he has derived relief from the conviction that justice is done to his manly character, and that he is not left to the necessity of drawing conclusions from his own sensations unexplained, and the anxious looks of his attendants. . . .

I have the honour, etc.,

H. TAYLOR.

The Duke of York returned to town August 27th, arriving at Arlington Street in five and a half hours.

Batchelor (the Duke's servant) told General Taylor that H.R.H., when travelling on Sundays always took a Bible and Prayer-book in the carriage, and objected to having a travelling companion on those occasions.

August 29th. Tuesday.—At 12 a.m. the Bishop of London gave the Sacraments to the Duke. Sir Herbert also was present. H.R.H. acknowledged that his life had not been pure—much that he wished had been otherwise—he had endeavoured to discharge his public duties correctly—had forborne injuring any one—and felt at peace and charity with all—his faith in the Christian religion was firm and decided—his adherence to the pure doctrine established in this country was unshaken—and this was from *conviction* and *consideration*, not from prejudice or party feelings.

December 22nd.—Increased apprehensions by the doctors. Sir H. Taylor therefore spoke again to H.R.H., admitting that he had not many days to live.

KING GEORGE IV. *to* LIEUT.-GENERAL SIR HERBERT TAYLOR.

Royal Lodge. Sunday Evening, December 24th, 1826.

MY DEAR TAYLOR,

I am so afraid of disturbing my brother with any matters of business at the present moment that I think it better to write to you upon the present occasion, for you to use your own discretion whether to communicate to him the contents of this letter.

I have just received a letter from the Duke of Wellington accepting of the government of the Tower, but handsomely declining at the same time to hold the government of Plymouth.

My intention, therefore, is to move Lord Harcourt to the government of Plymouth, and to provide for my old and attached servant, Sir William Keppel, by giving Portsmouth to him. This will be a great relief to my mind, as I have long promised it to him in case of a vacancy.

I trust to God that you will be able to give me favourable accounts of my dearest brother when you write.

Believe me, my dear Taylor,

Always sincerely yours,

G. R.

The condition of the Duke grew daily more serious; therefore on the 28th General Taylor wrote again to the King, and received the following reply:—

KING GEORGE IV. *to* SIR H. TAYLOR.

Royal Lodge. December 28th, 1826.

. . . I must write one short line, my worthy good friend, to thank you for your very interesting and kind details of this eventful day.

My feelings, as you may imagine, are not to be expressed. I therefore shall only add that you may expect to see me in Arlington Street at an early hour to-morrow.

Always truly and affectionately yours,

G. R.

SIR HERBERT TAYLOR *to* LORD BATHURST.

Arlington Street, December 30th, 1826.

MY DEAR LORD,

I requested Hay, who called here early to-day, to communicate to your Lordship the melancholy particulars of the poor Duke of York's situation. The physicians have since confirmed the apprehensions I expressed to him, and they

stated at 12 this day in their report to the King that H.R.H. would probably not live more than forty-eight hours. He continues perfectly sensible and never complains, although in great suffering, and he appears very anxious not to distress or give trouble to those about him. I think he is well aware of his state, but he does not like to be supposed to be so, and the Duke of Clarence, who, with the Duke of Sussex, was with him this day, told me that he had spoken cheerfully to them about Portugal, steamboats, etc., and seemed quite abstracted from his own situation.

The physicians wish him to be quiet; and he has by their directions seen only his brothers and Princess Sophia. He has not sent for me since this morning, but last night he was restless, and I was frequently with him.

The procedure to be adopted in the event of the Duke's death.

Mr. Hay asked me what would be the course, in the event of H.R.H.'s death, for the transaction of military business until the appointment of a successor.

It is very simple. The Adjutant and Quarter-Master General are the King's Staff, and would take His Majesty's pleasure directly in the arrangements connected with their departments. The Secretary at War would submit all appointments and promotions; and I apprehend your Lordship would receive His Majesty's commands in regard to general arrangements and movements.

The Military Secretary is secretary to the Commander-in-Chief, and would therefore cease to exist; but I shall of course be ready to execute the details under the instruction of your Lordship, of Lord Palmerston, or of any other individual who may be authorized, and may require my services during the interval.

I have, etc.,
H. TAYLOR.

THE RIGHT HON. ROBERT PEEL¹ to SIR HERBERT TAYLOR.

Whitehall Gardens. December 30th, 1826.

MY DEAR TAYLOR,

I offer without scruple any suggestion which occurs to me with reference to that sad impending calamity which occupies all my thoughts.

Might it not be proper for you, as the most attached friend and faithful servant of the Duke, to be yourself the bearer of the melancholy intelligence of his decease to the King?

Ever affectionately yours,
ROBERT PEEL.

¹ The Home Secretary.

SIR HERBERT TAYLOR to MR. PEEL.

Arlington Street. December 30th, 1826.

MY DEAR SIR,

I thank you sincerely for your kind advice, which affords to me an additional proof of the friendship I have experienced from you since our first acquaintance.

The King had ordered me to send to him the first information of the sad event which we are anticipating; and I then determined, although I did not mention the intention, that I would be the bearer of the melancholy intelligence to His Majesty, provided it should not occur that Sir H. Halford would be the fitter person.

Your kind letter has confirmed me in the first impression, and I will not resign the duty to any other individual.

You will of course receive immediate information. I was aware of what is usual upon these sad occasions, having twice before assisted.

The poor Duke appears to have continued free from pain since the morning, and very quiet—perfectly sensible—but has hardly spoken since Princess Sophia left him. I have not seen him since half-past eleven, when he was quite awake, and told me he felt quite equal to any business.

He afterwards saw the Dukes of Clarence and Sussex and spoke to them cheerfully on general subjects without at all adverting to his own situation.

Believe me, etc.,

H. TAYLOR.

SIR H. TAYLOR to KING GEORGE IV.

Arlington Street. January 7th, 1827.

SIRE,

I have strictly conformed to the instructions with which your Majesty was pleased to honour me yesterday in my communications with Mr. Peel, the Lord Chamberlain's office, and the Adjutant-General; and there is one point only upon which I am under the necessity of humbly soliciting your Majesty's commands.

I find the professional men who attended the Duke do not consider it at all necessary that there should be a post mortem examination with a view either to remove doubt as to the nature of the disorder or to reconcile differences as to the mode of treatment, medical or surgical—none ever having prevailed. Such being the case, I venture to conclude that your Majesty's command *must* be considered as limited to the process of embalming in the usual manner.

I have, etc.,

H. TAYLOR.

The Duke of York died on January 5th, after a long illness. The funeral took place on the 19th, in St. George's Chapel, Windsor, the Duke of Clarence being chief mourner.

Although the Duke could not have been a very successful General in the field, it should be remembered that, in sharing the command with our Allies, his plans of campaign continually had to be subordinated to theirs; as, for instance, in the campaign of 1793-4, when he was acting in conjunction with the Austrians, during which the disastrous policy of the British Government in detaching his force to "conquer" Dunkirk, instead of concentrating their energies on a forward movement towards Paris, was quite in opposition to his own wishes.

The Duke's administration of the Army.

As Commander-in-Chief at the Horse Guards, however, the position was very different. His administration of the Army was most useful at the time, and recognized to be very successful.

It was in 1798 that he was first appointed Commander-in-Chief, succeeding Lord Amherst, who was an old man, and had allowed countless abuses in the discipline and administration of the Army.

The Duke, from his high position, was enabled to put down much of the jobbing which hitherto had been going on. He was determined to do it—weeding out incapable officers and encouraging those who did their duty.

When in May, 1811, he was reinstated as Commander-in-Chief by the Prince Regent it was an appointment that proved very popular. His conduct had the greatest influence on the history of the British Army. He looked after the comforts of the soldier, but it was with the officers that he was most successful. Every Tuesday was his levée day, at which any officer might have an audience.¹

After the Duke's death Sir Herbert Taylor continued as Military Secretary under the Duke of Wellington at the Horse Guards. Wellington, however, resigned the position of Commander-in-Chief when Canning became Premier; and then General Taylor discharged its duties under the denomination of *Deputy Secretary at War* under Lord Palmerston until the return to office of the Duke of Wellington.

During Lord Palmerston's administration of the Army he proposed sending General Taylor to India as Commander-in-Chief. The latter, however, declined this, as he must have superseded many senior officers of distinguished service.

Hoping to keep him in England, the King actually created a new office and made him his *First and Principal Aide-de-Camp*. George IV. had, indeed, wished that he should be his

¹ See "Dictionary of National Biography."

private secretary, but the Ministers would not allow His Majesty to have one; nor did Taylor desire this position—preferring his military work at the Horse Guards.

The letters introduced below from British Officers in India, closely follow the Duke of York's death.

From such a distance as India, the writers could of course only partially gather in the various changes, political and military, which quickly succeeded the Duke's death; for instance, Lord Liverpool's resignation—Canning's Premiership and death—Lord Goderich's short-lived ministry—and the Duke of Wellington's acceptance of office as Head of the King's Government, when for the second time he resigned his military command at the Horse Guards.

MAJOR-GENERAL JASPER NICOLLS to SIR HERBERT TAYLOR.

Vizagapatam. May 30th, 1827.

MY DEAR SIR HERBERT,

Had I been in England I should not have addressed you on this melancholy event; it would not have become me to have intruded upon your grief. . . . This letter, however, will not reach you until later. . . . So that I may venture to condole with you upon the sad affliction with which it has pleased God to visit our country, in removing from this world H.R.H. the Duke of York.

We must all feel that we have lost a protector, but to you this single word is quite inapplicable. Your relations with H.R.H. were numerous—almost complex, but their intimate nature only bound you to him by ties more enduring and more permanent.

There was evidently an envious quality possessed by H.R.H.—that of attaching all who approached him; and if we who saw him seldom were so affected towards him, how much more must all those who attended him daily have yielded to the indulgence of the feeling so agreeable and so reciprocally honourable!

We felt the benefits by which H.R.H.'s administration of the Army was so liberally and so bountifully marked; but you saw all the interior working—the philanthropy which dictated—the military knowledge and talent which perfected—and the assiduity and vigour by which alone even great and good measures can be carried on to their ultimate adoption in our country.

I am most gratefully attached to his memory for many favours received; but had I not been so, I must have followed the current of public opinion which runs most strongly in unison with that of his avowed admirers.

I remember the Army in 1793-4; and I can only say The Army in 1793-4.

that very much of our ascent to our present glorious height amongst the nations is owing to the very judicious measures, the very liberal views and most persevering exertions of H.R.H. But one remnant of the old system offers itself to my memory: the list of Generals and Lieut.-Generals who raised corps in 1793 for rank (without reference to character and service) and who are now heavy, and have always been useless, pensioners.

But this theme will lead me, if pursued, into a very long letter, when in truth, I only wish to say, my dear Sir Herbert, that I sympathize with you very sincerely on this great calamity—and trust that there will be found very few in the United Kingdom who do not join heartily in lamenting a person not more distinguished by his illustrious birth than by the singular utility of his long official life. . . .

. . . J. NICOLLS.

LORD COMBERMERE¹ to SIR HERBERT TAYLOR.

Barrackpore. June 9th, 1827.

MY DEAR SIR HERBERT,

After having received rather encouraging accounts by the November ships, the sad intelligence brought by those which left England the middle of January was felt more severely.

I condole with you most sincerely and with the Army and country upon the loss sustained by the death of our respected and beloved Commander-in-Chief.

The shock must have been great to you and all those so intimately acquainted with, and so warmly attached to, his (late) Royal Highness.

His last illness must have been very affecting, and to you it must have been particularly distressing.

There never was a Prince or subject so universally or more deservedly loved or regretted than the poor Duke. I have received some interesting accounts of the illness of the Duke from the Duke of Newcastle, whose description of the last ceremony, etc., was very affecting. I will write again in a day or two.

Believe me, etc., . . .

COMBERMERE.

¹ Commander-in-Chief in India. He also acted as Governor of Bengal for part of the time, while Lord Amherst was in the hills.

COLONEL WILLOUGHBY COTTON to SIR HERBERT TAYLOR.

Calcutta. September 7th, 1827.

MY DEAR SIR HERBERT,

Your kind letter of April I had the pleasure of receiving this day, and its contents were most interesting. In the first place let me thank you for all your friendliness exemplified to Corbet Cotton, and I am most satisfied at your having placed him in the 16th Lancers as a Lieutenant by purchase.

In my humble opinion the Duke of Wellington was the only man in England fit or able to succeed our late ever to be lamented C.-in-C.

I have had in my life a good deal of business with him; and I think he is the quickest at comprehending a subject, and forms the best judgment upon passing events of any man I ever met. He possesses also energy, decision, and is unquestionably the best soldier of the age.

Why, therefore, should his powers be doubted as Commander-in-Chief? Give the Duke of Gloucester the benefit of your able assistance, and you may depend upon it he would transact the business satisfactorily.

Canning has evinced a thorough knowledge of the world, and shown himself a perfect master of tact. That couple of hours he passed with Lady Conyngham whilst the Duke of Wellington was with His Majesty were *not thrown away*.

Peel and the Duke of Wellington are surely the only two men of the seceders to be regretted by the country.

I do not mean to dispute Lord Westmoreland's eye for women, or Bathurst's for Burgundy, but Robinson¹ and Lord Dudley are more likely to benefit the State.

As to myself I cannot sufficiently express my warmest gratitude for all your manifold acts of friendship to me and mine, but believe me they have made an impression never to be effaced.

As to Willoughby Gordon²—although we are nearly related, I never liked him. I consider him arrogant when he dares—purse-proud and selfish to a degree, and—as he displayed himself in Spain—a bad soldier.

I have not written to him since Lord C. appointed me to act, nor to anybody but yourself, therefore Lord Combermere or possibly Lady Augusta may have informed him of my wishes. As matters stand, if I am confirmed, I shall apply, I think, for leave, as I have been now six years absent, and have many private concerns that require my presence. What I should like

¹ Lord Goderich.

² Sir James Willoughby Gordon, Quarter-Master General at the Horse Guards.

would be something that would give me employment during the day, as I have no wish to lapse into that idle London life of clubs, etc., which is all very well for a boy, but at my time of life presents nothing inviting.

I hope Lord Anglesea will do something for Berkeley Paget. What becomes of Lord Hertford in all this *melée*? Paris would suit him—or does he stick for a dukedom?

Lord Combermere is in a perfect agony at all these changes, though strange to tell you—and why I cannot make out, yet I do not think he regrets the Duke of Wellington as C.-in-C. There is *one* thing, the Duke knows the calibre of every general in his army well, and he may possibly think Lord C. one of the luckiest men that ever existed—in which opinion I coincide.

Not a word of news exists here. Runjit Singh's army is reported by officers of our service who went up the other day in deputation from Lord Amherst, as very well appointed—particularly the artillery and infantry. He has many French officers in command of divisions and brigades, and more daily arriving.

Poor old Colonel Reade died at Madras a fortnight ago. Lord C. has placed Captain Sydney Cotton of the Buffs in temporary charge.

I am delighted to hear the Duchess continues so well. Her amiability claims the ardent good wishes of every one who has the happiness and honour of her acquaintance. . . . I shall direct this to the Horse Guards—as (if at all a prophet) I foresee the higher powers will not let you quit so soon as you imagine. Pray write to me.

Believe me with the most perfect sincerity, etc., . . .

WILLOUGHBY COTTON.

LORD COMBERMERE to SIR HERBERT TAYLOR.

Calcutta. October 11th, 1827.

MY DEAR SIR HERBERT,

I must congratulate the Army more than you upon your appointment in the War Office.¹

What changes have taken place at this distance! Were I at home it would be presumption in me to give an opinion upon the state of parties, etc. You know I am a steady and zealous supporter of constitution in Church and State. I am a thorough King's man, and my family have always supported the Government (and most disinterestedly to my cost), but I should not feel much confidence in a Whig Administration.

The June ships are expected in a week or ten days; we shall hear something decisive perhaps.

¹ As Deputy Secretary at War.

Lord Amherst will return in a few days, and I then (thank God) shall give up the reins. On the 1st November I shall set out on rather a long tour of inspection. . . . I then shall visit the King of Oude and proceed to Meerut, where I shall see the 16th Lancers and 31st Infantry.

If I have time to visit Delhi and Lahore I shall do so in February. If not, I must defer those interesting visits till my return in October from the Himalaya Mountains.

In a former letter I mentioned my intention of going home at the end of 1828. I now think it will be towards the close of '29—unless my services are required at home, which is very improbable, though report sends me to Ireland, and Murray to the Ordnance.

I can only say that in whatever quarter of the world or whatever situation my humble but zealous services may be required, they will be at the disposal of our beloved Sovereign. I have sent to the President of the Board of Control my report upon the State of the native army; and some suggestion as to its improvement—none of which will the Honourable Company of Directors pay much attention to, I fancy.

We are anxious to know who is to be our new Governor-General. Dalhousie is, I hear, a candidate for the command of this army. As soon as I can say exactly when I wish to be relieved I will send you an official application to that effect. If you should want to relieve me next year, my successor ought to leave England in August; if not, he should sail in August, 1829.

I am always ready to move anywhere at five minutes' notice. . . .

Believe me, etc., . . .

COMBERMERE.

MAJOR-GENERAL JASPER NICOLLS to SIR HERBERT TAYLOR.

Calcutta. November 10th, 1827.

MY DEAR SIR HERBERT,

However this may find you—as Colonel of the 85th—Deputy to the Secretary at War, or as Secretary to a Commander-in-Chief (which last I sincerely trust it may do)—I feel that to *you* my opinions ought to be addressed: not only as my best surviving friend, but as the channel through which they may be made useful. . . .

I shall go on with diligence in making such further inquiries as my new command at Meerut may enable me to do, and in the end I may do some good.

One circumstance has struck me forcibly lately. Gradually since the days of Lord Clive the call here has been for more European officers. From a Captain and Lieutenant with the

aid of a few subalterns, this army has now 23 officers to each regiment; and I *still* say they require more, as long as there are so many absentees. You will not fail to remember that Rogniat (in his treatise *sur la guerre*) condemns the excessive train of artillery which Napoleon brought into the field in 1813, although acknowledged by both to be meant to counterpoise the *inefficiency* of his infantry, both in number and discipline.

Are we in India come to the point when it is desirable to make up in officers what the native infantry has lost in loyalty and morale? Few will give this a willing affirmative, but I gather it from what we see done and hear of very frequently. . . .

Now, my dear Sir Herbert, if this army be still retrograding, officers alone will not counteract the depression. System alone can do it—well considered, liberally pursued, but enforced; and if the recruiting were altered, so as not to depend too much on a few districts and a few castes. If promotion for Europeans and natives were more rapid, and encouragement more certain, and lastly, if discipline were better understood and attended to, the Bengal army ought to be the finest Colonial army in the world.

A pursuit of these four would no doubt lead to the discovery of all other necessary amendments.

I shall (later on) endeavour to lay before you some opinions respecting the amalgamation of the Indian army with that of His Majesty; but it really is a question I approach with great hesitation, and distrust of my own ability.

With warmest thanks, etc. . . .

J. NICOLLS.

LIEUT.-COLONEL THE HON. J. FINCH ¹ to SIR HERBERT TAYLOR.

Baglipoor. November 11th, 1827.

MY DEAR SIR HERBERT,

I have not written to you for a long time. I confess that since the retirement of the Duke of Wellington² the military horizon has appeared to me to be gloomy. Of any successor to our late lamented Chief one must naturally have had doubts; but whatever might have been the opinion and fears, I may say, regarding his successor, all must have acknowledged that he (Wellington) was a soldier, and therefore that he must have felt like one of ourselves.

But hardly had we got an assurance that he had adopted that illustrious model which preceded him as his guide, than our hopes were extinguished; and I confess that, feeling most

¹ Military Secretary to Lord Combermere.

² On Mr. Canning becoming Premier. The Duke's objection to serving under Canning is well known.

anxiously for our situation as a military body, I could not sit down to write to you with satisfaction to myself. Our last gleam of hope has now expired.

We had hoped that the military branch would have been put under your charge and that you would have received His Majesty's commands; but it is lamentable to think that we should receive letters on *military* subjects relating to the discipline of the troops, from a *civilian*.

The system cannot now continue; it would have done perhaps before the forces of Great Britain were made an army; but now they must be commanded by a soldier.

You must have a really anxious time of it; kept by force in an office which can no longer have to you its former interest to induce you to forego the object of your wishes. . . .

We have just got a letter from you respecting dram-drinking. There is one difficulty in putting a stop to the practice which you have not contemplated; that is, that it is physically impossible for an old Indian soldier to stand of a morning before he has had his dram, and that not of pure arrack, but strongly flavoured with chilies. I saw an instance in the 59th the other day in a man who had turned out before he had got his usual dose; he could not stand on parade—he went to his barracks, primed himself, and was as well as ever. The subject, however, had not escaped Lord Combermere's attention; he has had a committee, not only to inquire into that point, but also the general feeding, clothing, and lodging of troops.

Dram-
drinking
in the
Indian
regiments.

You do not know perhaps that in Bengal (Lower) the rations are $\frac{1}{2}$ lb. bread, 1 lb. meat; in the Upper Country they are 1 lb. bread and 2 lbs. meat.

It is in contemplation to equalize these, and many other arrangements to be adopted throughout India if possible, amongst them the morning dram, which will, I trust, add to the comfort and health of the troops. One of the best things that has been done is sending a superior medical corps before their arrival.

There was no one to consult or inquire into these things, the medical board being a set of old women, whose principal duty in their opinion is to receive their salary, and the next, to keep down the hospital expenses—further they are of no use.

Lord C. has now sent his report on the state of the Army. He has carefully withheld it from the secretaries, and has forwarded it direct to C. Wynne; and I hope it may be attended with some success; it is a most important subject, but partial changes will do no good. A radical reformation is absolutely and immediately necessary.

We have now started on our tour, and unless Lord W. Bentinck should bring an order to turn us out, we do not

contemplate returning to Calcutta before March, 1829—and to leave the country in December that year.

I trust, notwithstanding your former determination, this may find you still in office, unless some permanent arrangement for the governance of the Army by a soldier has been previously made.

Believe me, etc.,

J. FINCH.

CAPTAIN ARCHER to SIR HERBERT TAYLOR.

Camp on the banks of the Ganges. December 20th, 1827.

MY DEAR SIR HERBERT,

General Reynell has kindly offered to take care of this letter and to give it to you on his arrival in London.

We are now on our grand tour of the Upper Provinces, and as yet we have only seen the capital of Oude, and the court of Lucknow. 'Twas a continued scene of bustle and excitation, and in no wise gratifying to those who had been there previously—and little so to those who were new to the matter.

The indiscriminate mixture of pomp and meanness—of gold and dirt—the absence of all order and decorum made everything disagreeable. The entertainments were uninteresting and spiritless, and I am sure no one in camp would feel desirous again to pass another such week as we did at Lucknow.

Lord Combermere and all his staff are quite well. I trust the winter uses you well. Reports send you to the Cape as Governor—in that case Lord C. promises to pay you a visit on his return home.

If your going there augments your pleasure, I hope it may occur.

Believe me, etc.,

EDWARD ARCHER.

LIEUT.-COLONEL TIDY to SIR HERBERT TAYLOR.

(On the question of corporal punishment.)

Bengal. January 1st, 1828.

SIR,

The apology I shall make for intruding upon your time to send the paper which I do myself the honour to enclose, is formed upon the conviction in my mind how much you are identified in the sentiments of the late lamented Commander-in-Chief on the subject of corporal punishment in the King's army; and the assurance that you will be pleased to see the system so strenuously inculcated by his Royal Highness, persevered in with so much success for a period of fifteen months

—during which 2543 men were passed through the dépôt. If Lord Combermere had by some mistake called me a hero, I should not, I trust, have had the assurance to have forwarded you a copy of his Lordship's order; the tenour of that which I now enclose enables me to do so without blushing.

I have the honour to remain, etc.,

F. S. TIDY,

Lieut.-Col. 44th Regiment.

Extract taken from the General's Order referred to above.

November 20th, 1827.

“The great efficiency of the system Lieut.-Colonel Tidy has pursued cannot be more strongly evinced than by the fact of his not having inflicted one sentence of corporal punishment on any of the numerous recruits who have at different periods been under his command.”

LIEUT.-COLONEL THE HON. J. FINCH *to* SIR HERBERT TAYLOR.

Bengal. January 20th, 1828.

MY DEAR SIR HERBERT,

Your letter of the 14th July I have just received. Since you have written it, however, an event which must be sincerely regretted, even by his opponents, has again restored to us our chief,¹ and has no doubt relieved you from your official labour.

I will, however, write to you as if you were still in office. . . .

I now send you a copy of Lord Combermere's report, and I hope you may approve of the principle of it.

There is one point that Lord C. endeavoured to keep in view throughout; that it should fairly expose all the inconsistencies of the present system; at the same time that the language though strong should not be susceptible of the charge which was brought against Sir Edward Paget—of having been petulant. The report has been sent direct to Mr. Wynne, and has not been submitted to the opinion of the Government, or rather the secretaries of the Government, in this country. This proceeding may not be approved, but I am satisfied that if it had been made public here, the object would have been thwarted. There are few men in the service who will take a fair and liberal view of the situation of the Army: no one looks beyond himself; his own personal interest is the only thing he considers; and should he fancy that he would not benefit

¹ On the death of Mr. Canning, the Duke of Wellington returned to his position as Commander-in-Chief until the fall of the Goderich ministry, when the Duke became Premier.

personally by a change, he would oppose any suggestion, however generally advantageous.

The proposal for giving Brevet rank thus would meet with many and strong opponents.

There is one point on which I have taken the liberty of writing rather fully to Wynne. I was not aware until lately how strong and how general the feeling on the subject was amongst the superior officers—I mean their anxiety that the company should have the power of giving the Brevet rank of Colonel to the Commandants of Corps. If the same local rank was given to King's officers, very good; but then the companies would still remain in the same relative situations, and consequently would then, as now, be deprived of all command on active service. I need not, to you, enter into an argument to show how extensively unjust such a proceeding would be towards all the King's army.

I am satisfied indeed that His Majesty would not listen for one moment to such a proposition.

I am, etc., . . .

. . . J. FINCH.

CHAPTER XII

1827-1828

Letters from the Cape of Good Hope—Lady Catherine Bell and Major-General Bourke—Letter from Sir James Kempt.

AFTER the death of Canning, August 8th, 1827, Lord Goderich accepted office, and became Premier. The Duke of Wellington returned to the Horse Guards as Commander-in-Chief, and Sir Herbert resigned all official employment for the time being.

Having now some leisure for the first time in many years, he and Lady Taylor with their little daughter (born in 1824) spent a few months in Lancashire with Mr. Wilbraham Bootle, his brother-in-law, and gave up their house in Cadogan Place.

After their return to town they remained with Mr. Bootle¹ in Portland Place until St. Katharine's Lodge, which was then building in Regent's Park, should be ready for their reception.

This was the house allotted to General Taylor as Master of St. Katharine's Hospital. There is an excellent account of this very ancient charitable Foundation in a book published a few years ago by Miss Disbrowe.² Here I will merely mention that in 1825 it had been entirely removed from the banks of the Thames near the Tower—the St. Katharine's Dock Company having paid a large sum for the site of the ground on which it originally stood.

The old church, the school, the Brothers' and the Sisters' houses, and the Master's house were all rebuilt in (the) Regent's Park on land granted by the Government—at the expense of the Dock Company, and under the direction of Sir Herbert.

The buildings of the Hospital or Hospice still exist; but the Lodge itself no longer has any connection with its original associations. This house stands in rather an extensive garden not far from Gloucester Gate.

One of Sir Herbert's correspondents referred to it as his "Sabine Villa," and even now, if you should stand in its grounds and look beyond through the cluster of trees that

¹ Created Baron Skelmersdale, January 30th, 1828.

² "Old Days in Diplomacy," C. A. A. Disbrowe (Jarrold & Sons).

surround you, it would hardly be difficult to fancy yourself many leagues from a city.

Sir Herbert was soon in harness again, and in February of this year, 1828, was appointed Surveyor-General of the Ordnance. In April he settled down with his family at St. Katharine's Lodge.

In September, on the death of Sir Henry Torrens, he was appointed Adjutant-General; and continued also to do the duty of the Surveyor-General until the following March.

In the midst of all his official work he found time to attend to the arrangements of St. Katharine's, and, as Lady Taylor says in her journal, "he took great interest in the garden, giving minute instructions as to the plantations, etc. At his home he had a happy knack of throwing off all business from his thoughts; he would then often be like a boy, romping or playing tricks with his little girl; or would take up his violoncello, as if he had never been out of practice."

In the meanwhile previously to this, towards the latter half of 1827, there had been a question whether he or Sir Lowry Cole should be nominated as Governor at the Cape. The climate was good, and Sir Herbert would not have been unwilling to accept the position; he, however, waived his claim to Sir Lowry, who finally accepted the post.

References to this matter appear in the following letters from Lady Catherine Bell and Major-General Bourke.

Lady Catherine was the eldest daughter of the first Earl of Malmesbury—her husband, Colonel Bell, being Chief Secretary to the Governor at the Cape of Good Hope at this period.

LADY CATHERINE BELL *to* SIR HERBERT TAYLOR.

Cape. November 20th, 1827.

MY DEAR SIR HERBERT,

There is a fatality attending all communications respecting Lowry's¹ coming here as Governor. Your letter written in July only reached me five days ago, and I am still in as much doubt on that point as ever. . . .

In spite of my doubts whether my replies to your queries will be of any use at present—I will send them to the best of my experience.

In regard to servants, the fewer imported Abigails the better. The European ones here, especially the younger ones, are coming to their senses, and more housekeepers and nursery maids condescend to take office than when we came. In respect to articles of clothing, I would recommend Lady Taylor

¹ Sir Lowry Cole. Lady Frances Cole was the sister of Lady C. Bell.



ST. KATHARINE'S LODGE, REGENT'S PARK. 1829.

to arrange an annual invoice of a few things that are not to be got so good here, such as fine flannel, children's socks, stockings and shoes—also pins, needles, and sewing silks; for herself two or three dresses, for tho' there are very good mantua makers, I believe (for I trouble them little), of course they are more dependent on the *Belle Assemblée* for their taste than she would like.

Horses you will easily find, but harness and saddlery are much better from England.

I do not know much of Lord Charles's¹ cellars, but I will make inquiries for you; *entre nous*, his table was not famous in this way, and if you are choice in your wines, Sir Lowry has found a direct correspondence with Bordeaux the best for French wines, and the others you might bring.

I should advise an *annual* cargo of wax candles, lump sugar, cheeses, hams, and good lamp oil. You would also find a regular importation of new publications, books, and music a great comfort and amusement.

An artiste in the kitchen is, I should think, very necessary; and if you wish to confer a benefit on the young ladies of this colony, you will persuade some dancing-master to try his fortunes at the Cape. Music is still at a low ebb, tho' in a few years this resource will rise in estimation. It is getting on, but I assure you I have had once or twice a very practical and true specimen of what I had only known by *name* before—"A Dutch Concert."

As to society, I am not, nor ever was, fastidious on this point; but you would do well to bring a few pleasant people; we are not lucky in this way; partly to be attributed perhaps to the state of the Colony for some time past, but still more to the system of tittle tattle, and ill-natured gossiping, which is carried on to extreme. I look forward, however, to the hope that the reign of either Coles or Taylors will stop it greatly; and if discouraged at Government House, it will lose much of its zest, and diminish through the realm.

I hope—I think I need not say—that next to Lowry there is no one I should see arrive here with so much pleasure as yourself. If you recollect, I expressed my wish you would come long ago—at a time when I did not consider his having the option at all likely; and Colonel Bell contemplates with no small satisfaction the prospect of having *you* for a master, in case of my brother-in-law's not coming.

I do not think General Bourke² is at all pleased at the result of his visit here. I can hardly suppose, however, that he could have at all depended upon remaining as Chief until the

¹ Lord Charles Somerset, the retiring Governor.

² Acting Governor at the Cape before the new appointment had been made.

command as well as the salary had been reduced in scale; but tho' an excellent man, he is reserved, almost I should say to defect; and though he does not conceal that he is annoyed at having had so much of the *imbroglio* of the colony thrown upon him, and then to return without seeing the result of his labours, and his original destination gone to the winds, yet he has never said he really wished to be Eastern Governor, or, indeed, from whence his great dissatisfaction arises; however, I do not apply my observation of his reserve to this, so much as to many minor points by which he has lost popularity of late, and of which if we meet in these parts, I will tell you. He is a very agreeable and superior man, and has been very friendly and kind to us all. He is certainly the *pearl* in his family, but this *entre nous*.

Our little Chief Justice says Newlands is not to be sold. Certainly to deprive the Governor of a summer retreat from the heat and annoyances of Cape Town was an infliction which, I confess, I cannot understand the Commissioners ever having the barbarity to propose. *They* never could live in the town themselves in the summer; and every man with a dollar to spare has a place at least to sleep in. If you come you will judge of the eligibility and convenience of Camps Bay as a residence.

It is no small source of regret to me to quit our Wynberg cottage, on which we have laid out a good deal, and which is a great pet; and I always have connected my regard and gratitude for our dear and regretted friend the Duke of York with my enjoyment of its comforts. When he, kind-hearted man, asked Lord Charles to lend it to us as an extra indulgence, he little thought it would be converted into a *quarter* after we had spent our money on it. . . .

I feel very anxious to hear of Lady Goderich having got well thro' her confinement, and heartily do I wish it may make a favourable change in her general health and spirits, which, I fear, are a great source of anxiety to Frederick.¹

Next to this I am impatient to hear if he is really Premier, with a prospect of strength, but on this point I am not sanguine.

The Duke of Wellington's return to office will have relieved you from the work and discomforts you describe, and which I can fully estimate. This arrangement will also give you *relâche* for some months.

I am not a little worried by the uncertainty and suspense I am in about the Coles. I wish to cast off all selfish feelings, and I cannot make up my mind what is best for them.

Believe me, yours very truly,

CATHERINE BELL.

¹ Frederick Robinson. Created Viscount Goderich in April of this year. He became Premier, and Leader of the House of Lords in August.

LADY CATHERINE BELL to SIR HERBERT TAYLOR.

Wynberg. December 15th, 1827.

MY DEAR SIR HERBERT,

Since I wrote to you about three weeks ago Captain Hare, Lord Charles's A.D.C., has come to the determination of making a public sale of all his furniture, etc., at Newlands, and it is fixed to take place immediately.

I went there and inspected everything, and there is no question but there are many things that would be useful to Governors Taylor or Cole; and which, if I were not under a complication of doubts as to what is to be, I might eventually save them a little expense by having purchased for them.

The principal doubt as to many articles is this: is, or is not, the edict for selling Newlands repealed? and has there not been some question of a sum being allowed to a Governor for furniture? If I were certain that Newlands would be his country residence, there are sundry tables, chairs, etc., that would be worth buying, if only to save the carriage. You or Lowry could hire, and you *must*, for you cannot keep your family all the summer in Cape Town. I therefore cannot venture to purchase; at the risk too of not suiting the two Lady Governesses' tastes and incurring the wrath of the Governors by entailing "Curtain Lectures" upon them. In short, my dear Sir Herbert, the sum total of all this is, that I shall not take any risks. . . . The "Batterie de Cuisine" is large, and many of the articles good.

You will perceive that I am still in the dark, and the hurricane season being come on, I may, from the uncertainty of communication remain so—longer than you do.

It is generally known that either yourself or Sir Lowry are to be expected in a few months. Several persons have written it from England, and it would be useless for us to put an air of mystery on the subject—nor do we. The simple truth stops much speculation and ill-natured inventions.

Of Mr. Canning's death many were of course ignorant, and I do not know Mr. Huskisson sufficiently to judge whether he will abide by previous arrangements in his office; so that we may all be looking to new measures, as when *our* last tidings from England came he was only just enlisted. I feel extremely anxious to hear of Frederick on his *pinnacle*. I do earnestly hope, once placed there, he may get on, with as much comfort as can be. I might soon hear, too, of Lady Goderich.

Sir R. Plaskett resigns his official duties to my husband on the first of this year, who has, however, fully as much or more to do now, and will, till he is settled in office, or rather till the *bouleversement* of the Commissioner's report is unravelled into something like a power to set the wheels going before this

fated New Year's Day. I write in a hurry, so please excuse this scrawl. The General appoints Major Clark to act for Colonel Bell; he is quite as assiduous at Government House as in former days, and report says success may crown his endeavours, and that he may, at least, obtain the hand of a Governor's daughter. If not, you must keep a look-out on your daughter, should you come. He is quite right to make himself as amiable as he can in high places, but I cannot forgive him for the language he allows himself to hold about Lord Charles, to whom he appeared so devoted, and certainly owes a great deal, but this *entre nous*. You are probably acquainted with him; there are several brothers, and General Bourke has given and promoted them to situations; the chief benefit of this is, that their hunger being satisfied and nothing of better fare to look to, they may grow less and be less *patriotic*.

It is so near the close of the year that I may forestall my best wishes to you and yours for all happiness in the next and many more, in which my husband begs to join, and with kind remembrances to Lady Taylor,

Believe me, yours very sincerely,
CATHERINE BELL.

P.S.—Pray let us hear from you whatever happens.

MAJOR-GENERAL BOURKE¹ (*Acting Governor at the Cape*)
to SIR HERBERT TAYLOR.

Cape Town. January 5th, 1828.

MY DEAR SIR HERBERT,

I have your letters of April 10th and August 6th before me. I regret that the hope you had formed of escaping from drudgery in England by a removal here is not likely to be accomplished, as it is quite certain that Sir L. Cole will accept this Government under any terms that may be offered to him.

This climate would probably have suited you, but the voyage is long, society is but indifferent, and for some time to come the labour of office will be considerable. The military command being exercised by the Governor, sometimes imposes upon him no trifling fatigue—such, for instance, as a ride of above two thousand miles, which I found it necessary to take since I wrote you last. The movements of some of the tribes in the interior of Africa occasioned much confusion and some

¹ Major-General Sir Richard Bourke was afterwards well known as the efficient and popular Governor of New South Wales.

apprehension of inroads on our borders, and I thought it right to proceed to the frontier expeditiously to put things to rights, and returned after a tour of seven weeks, having accomplished the distance I mention by riding nearly all the way. The excursion was, upon the whole, interesting, and tho' fatiguing was, I think, very beneficial to my health, which was suffering from too much office work.

Since my return, there has been imposed upon me no less a task than the new-modelling of all the establishments in the Colony—Civil, Judicial, and Ecclesiastical—together with an entire change to be effected in the Revenue in all its branches. Remodel-
ling the
Colony.

This, I maintain, ought to have been left to the person who is destined to have the Government, and not imposed upon a *locum tenens* with half salary. I have, however, proceeded with the work according to my instructions, and have found it a very invidious and disagreeable employment.

Being determined to act impartially, I have, I hope, hitherto offended none but those who are less equitably inclined. Amongst these I am sorry to place the Chief Secretary, Sir R. Plaskett, who took umbrage at my declining to place a young protégé of his who has not been three years in the Colony, at the head of the clerks in the Colonial Office, to the prejudice of two Dutchmen and one Englishman who have been working hard and long upon their ancient wretched salaries. The pique Sir Richard took at this, together with my refusal to give the same protégé pecuniary allowance which the Secretary of State has not (tho' applied to) authorized, induced him to *run a muck*, and to proceed to such lengths as would have rendered it necessary, I believe, to have suspended him, but that he availed himself of the leave of absence which the Secretary of State had granted him, and I have, by the commands of Lord Goderich, placed Colonel Bell in the Secretary's Office.

This is the only quarrel I have had since I have been in the Colony, and I regret it more than enough, but I have the satisfaction of being assured by those who know the ostensible or rather the assumed ground of Sir Richard's attack upon me, that he has not a shadow of excuse.

He has since written to say he did not *mean* to give offence, and was only discharging a public duty, etc., but this I could not admit as a sufficient apology, and he will probably carry his ill-will away with him.

Upon the whole, I have had two years of considerable labour, little profit, and I might say no pleasure, as the peculiar nature of my situation, embarrassed by the presence of the Commission of Inquiry, and constantly expecting the return of the old, or the appointment of a new Governor, left me no power to pursue any measures of my own—to render any

signal service to the Colony in general—or benefit a private friend.

This is but an uninviting picture of a Governor's situation, but with you the case would have been different: you would have come with a permanent appointment, with the means, as well as the inclination, to do good; would have been beloved and happy.

You are aware that the Eastern Government, to which I was originally appointed, is not to be established. I shall therefore return home on Sir L. Coles's arrival. I wish he were here now to take what remains of my wearisome and unprofitable task.

Colonel Bell has been in office about a fortnight, and seems to be a much more efficient man of business than his predecessor.

Lady Catherine is well, and, as you may suppose, delighted at the thought of having her sister near her.

The Judges who have just opened the new courts are likely to do well. From their several habits and professional educations a strange mixture of law is likely to prevail, unless the Council of Government have sufficient knowledge of the subject to prevent it.

Roman,
Dutch,
Scotch,
and
English
law.

One of the Judges has been a Scotch lawyer, as was the Attorney-General, and some of the proposed innovations on the Roman-Dutch law have come forward in a Scottish garb, whilst others have worn the English costume. A mixture of Roman, Dutch, Scotch, and English law would probably contain the imperfections of each. Whilst I remain, the English law will be preferred. I have been so long protected by it, it would be inexcusable to withhold its blessings from others whenever it can be beneficially introduced. The Cape Corps Cavalry is reduced, and if you take away a regiment besides, it will be difficult to provide a sufficient protection for the immensely extended frontier of the Colony. I have now one regiment (the 55th) and the mounted riflemen on the borders; and situated as the interior of Africa now is, with constant wars between different savage tribes, the more distant conquerors driving the vanquished towards our limits, or, as has happened more than once, actually into our territory—a less force would be unequal to protect the farmers and their property.

Tribal
Wars.

I am, etc., . . .

RICHARD BOURKE.

MAJOR-GENERAL BOURKE to SIR HERBERT TAYLOR.

Government House, Cape Town. January 26th, 1828.

I have been favoured with your letter of the 15th October, informing me that in consequence of intelligence received in

London from Sir Lowry Cole, you have given up all thought of coming out here. . . .

Lady C. Bell has still some doubts as to what may be the event. I have, however, none on the subject, though it is probable that Sir L.'s arrival here may be later than I had hoped. . . . I regret on your account, and that of the Colony, that you are not to be the next Governor. . . .

I am, my dear Sir Herbert, most sincerely yours,

RICHARD BOURKE.

The following is from Sir J. Kempt, who at the time he wrote was Governor of Nova Scotia. Shortly afterwards—in July—he was transferred to Canada as Governor-General.

SIR J. KEMPT to SIR HERBERT TAYLOR.

Halifax, Nova Scotia. March, 1828.

MY DEAR TAYLOR,

I thank you sincerely for your kind letter of the 6th February. Lord Dalhousie will be very much annoyed in the change in Lord Combermere's plans, indeed, *entre nous*, it would not surprise me if, when the time comes for his going to India (that is the beginning of 1830), he declined the appointment! He is at this moment most anxious to get home *on leave*, private affairs of an urgent nature requiring his presence in England; and if he does not meet with a cordial reception, when he arrives, from the Colonial Secretary of State and the Duke of Wellington, he will, I think, make his *bow to the Government* and garrison his *own castle* the remainder of his life; in that case, my good friend, it is my opinion that the Great Eastern Command will come into *your* hands sooner than you have any idea of, and I sincerely hope that it may be so.

I have been a sad invalid all the winter; my lame foot has kept me to the house for nearly two months, and the long confinement has affected my general health so much that I am sick of the climate, and think seriously of changing it for a more *genial* one. . . .

I shall be most anxious to learn how the New Administration is getting on. The Duke will be found to be a steadier coachman on the State Box than Frederick Robinson, and one that will make the team work true and run up to the collar, although it may be composed of different colours. Much will, however, depend upon his being properly supported by his colleagues in the House of Commons.

I was quite grieved to read the debate in the House upon the explanation of the guarantee, and the circumstances that occasioned the dissolution of the last Government.

Most sincerely yours,

JAMES KEMPT.

Lord Goderich had resigned two months before the date of this last letter. He had been unable to prevent dissension between his Whig and Tory colleagues. In certain points of policy they were disunited.

The "guarantee," referred to by Sir J. Kempt, is an allusion to a debate in the Commons in which Mr. Huskisson, the Colonial Secretary, denied that he had insisted on guarantees in policy when accepting office. He maintained that he had merely required certain assurances as to the composition of the Cabinet, and that his speeches had been mis-reported in this matter.

CHAPTER XIII

1828

Letters from Abroad: Sir R. Ker Porter—Sir Brook Taylor—A. G. Wavell—Colonel Finch—Colonel Willoughby Cotton—Major-General—Jasper Nicolls.

SIR ROBERT KER PORTER was a painter, traveller, and diplomatist. He had a varied career. When a boy he determined to be a battle-painter; and when he was twenty-three he created a sensation by his picture of the storming of Seringapatam which was 120 feet long. He accompanied Sir John Moore to Spain, and was present at Corunna. In 1826 he was appointed British Consul at Venezuela, residing at Caracas, where, amongst other portraits, he painted Simon Bolivar, the founder of the Republic of Colombia.

SIR R. KER PORTER to SIR HERBERT TAYLOR.

City of Caracas. April 19th, 1828.

MY DEAR SIR,

It is my turn to apologize for allowing your kind and obliging letter of December last to remain so long unacknowledged, but the fact is, that for these two months past, my fingers have been most fatiguingly occupied in transcribing and translating several Spanish, or rather Colombian, public documents for the Foreign Office connected with my duties here. . . .

I fear your hope of being left a little to yourself, and the enjoyment of a position of repose and liberty from public duty will not be realized. If report prove true (on this side the Atlantic) you are to form one of a Commission destined to direct and govern the affairs of the Army, in consequence of the Duke of Wellington's having abandoned the Horse Guards for the Treasury. His Grace has taken upon himself, I really think, a more perilous command (and probably he will find it a more ungrateful one) than that at Waterloo. We have not yet received the complete and fixed list of his colleagues, but doubt not he will be well supported, and trust the new arrangement will be permanent.

I am told from home that the Duke proposes to pursue a

most liberal course both externally and internally. I sincerely hope, therefore, when the affairs of Turkey may be settled on such a basis as regards the freedom of the Greeks, that the coalesced Powers will turn their *liberal care* towards *these States*, and *compel* the King of Spain to acknowledge their independence, for although at present the bayonet of the ancient masters of South America does not exterminate, as of old, the patriotic inhabitants of its bosom, still the country is gradually sinking almost to nakedness and desolation, from the blind and stubborn policy of Ferdinand, in cherishing the hope that these liberated countries *must again come* under his rule. This growing state of ruin has its chief source from constant threatened invasion, and internal party intrigue, fomented by Spanish agents and Spanish gold.

With respect to the Turks (as I have just learnt from Sir A. Woodford that the Grand Segnior's war manifesto has appeared), should hostilities now be seriously undertaken both by sea and land, there cannot be a doubt but that the Mahometans will be driven out of Europe, but certainly they will not abandon Constantinople without leaving it in flames.

I have a very high opinion of the moderate views of the present Emperor of Russia, yet should what I have just named be the consequence of this rupture, his moderation and disinterestedness will be put to the test, the more particularly as no doubt his troops alone may have taken possession of the Turkish capital. The burning of Moscow proved the torch that led the way to the peace we have so long enjoyed; and I most ardently hope the conflagration of the ancient city of Constantine may not prove that of discord amongst the illustrious advocates and protectors of an oppressed people. Certainly the affairs of Europe are most critical, and the new Ministry have a most anxious and difficult task to perform in preserving the tranquillity of Europe, and in satisfying all parties.

Simon
Bolivar,
the
Liberator
President.

Of our own state in the New World, I have little or nothing to say; the Liberator President is on his way to Caracas from Bogota, and we hope he will sojourn in his natal city until December next. This unexpected circumstance will afford me an additional opportunity of cultivating the friendship of this extraordinary man.

I hope my sister would (whilst in London this month) have been so fortunate as to have shown you, during one of your leisure moments, the drawing I made of Bolivar, and which reached Esher last November. You will then see the features and expression of no ordinary person, and I think may read the very career of this patriot general in his careworn look.

As a pendant for this portrait, I have begun one of General Paez, the Llomero leader, and certainly the second hero of the Republic. My promise to you has not been forgotten, believe

me, and a drawing of one of his horsemen is in great forwardness, and shall be sent to England at the same time as that of the General's, and I hope you will receive it as a small tribute of my respect and regard—and only wish it were more worthy of your portfolio.

It is now fast verging on three long years that I have been in this tropical climate, and a sad monotonous exile it has been. I wish our Government would consider those employed in these regions as Russia does her employés in Georgia and Asia, where the services, in *years* are always considered in a double ratio to those of Europe, and recorded accordingly.

It is my intention at the expiration of twelve months to ask for leave of absence, having some family affairs to settle at St. Petersburg, where my presence will be required in the course of 1829; and when in London, I shall exert every effort and interest to effect, if possible, a translation to some home appointment, for I regard myself in South America almost literally in another world; yet, however dreary and mentally desolate I feel the residence to be, I would not exchange with Lieut.-Colonel Denham, and I tremble for the result of his stay in Sierra Leone. . . .

R. KER PORTER.

A Family Letter.

SIR BROOK TAYLOR (*British Minister at Berlin*) to SIR HERBERT TAYLOR.

Berlin. July 4th, 1828.

MY DEAR HERBERT,

I have a thousand thanks to return you for your comfortable long letter of the 22nd June. . . . From what you state I fear that one or two of my letters to you have miscarried. Pray, however, send me an answer to the question of one of my attachés, Mr. Bulwer,¹ if he can sell his half-pay in the Army in the event of his receiving any Diplomatic allowances. He was in the Life Guards two or three years ago, and exchanged into the infantry, unattached, and I now sign his affidavits for his half-pay.

In consequence of Edward's removal to Boulogne I have given up the intention I had of sending young Herbert to Dobberan for sea-bathing, and shall let him join his father. . . .

I am happy to say that Herbert is better, but I am sure that he never would quite recover in this marshy, unwholesome place, which particularly affects all young people.

¹ Afterwards Sir Henry Bulwer.

We have both heard from Edward on the subject of the disposal of Bifrons,¹ and I confess that from his statement I considered him as over-sanguine. Nothing could, however, be more proper than Herbert's answer to his father, expressing his regret at the necessity of parting with the old family estate, but showing his readiness to enter into any arrangement which may contribute to the comfort and happiness of his parents.

Of course, we must secure Herbert's interests as much as we can, but I am as yet unable to form any judgment on the subject of the arrangements proposed, from what has been stated to me.

You have had, I dare say, plenty of trouble with the business of Loui's marriage² settlements in addition to all your other business, but that affair is now happily over, and certainly nothing can be more satisfactory than Edward's letters respecting our new nephew as well as the increased attachment of Loui, and I dare say they will be a very happy couple.

I am very glad to hear so favourable an opinion from you of our present Ministry, and wish we may go on some years without the necessity of further changes. You would, I dare say, have liked the command in Ireland, but you seem to me also to be perfectly satisfied with your present office, and nothing can be more comfortable than your account of your new residence in the Regent's Park.

When you see Charlotte Northey pray tell her that I shall write to her very soon, and thank her for her letter.

You desire to receive some account from me of my occupations and amusements, which I can answer in two words—that I live almost entirely alone, taking as much exercise as the weather will allow, both riding and walking, and the rest of the day read and write. My establishment is comfortable enough, but very expensive, although I have only two servants more than at Munich, but I have had to increase their wages considerably, this being one of the dearest places on the Continent, certainly one-third dearer than Vienna, or any other German town.

God bless you, my dearest Herbert, . . .

B. T.

¹ Edward Taylor's estate near Canterbury. Negotiations for its sale took place after his son Herbert came of age. It had belonged to the Taylor family since 1694.

² To George Cornwall Legh, of High Legh, Cheshire. She was a daughter of Edward Taylor.



Wifrons. Kent. Built by Inigo Jones, & subsequently by D. P. Warre
a later. Sketch of the original drawn in the collection of the Earl of Arundel & Southampton

BIFRONS.

From a pencil sketch.

Trade in Mexico and Texas.

Mr. A. G. WAVELL, to SIR HERBERT TAYLOR.

Mexico. July 21st, 1828.

MY DEAR SIR,

Having been confined by a violent fever, which I caught on my way to this place, I am but just now *au courant des affaires*, which, however, in my opinion, go on and will go on much better than appears to be generally expected; although I fear great inconvenience will be experienced, owing to the want of rain, which will render the harvest very scanty, and in some parts the drought has destroyed great numbers of cattle and horses. . . .

The British merchants, whose letters form the opinion of the commercial men in the city (indeed, of nearly all Europe as regards *these* countries, in which there are so few travellers or Diplomatic agents that their voice is not heard), are on many accounts full of complaints. There is now so great a number of them that the competition has reduced the profits; formerly the Cadiz merchant remitted goods to this country, when the Spanish shopkeeper here purchased often to a very large amount, and retailed amongst the Mexicans. Some of these (who may be termed *middlemen*) having rendered themselves obnoxious by their hostility to the present order of things, who were rich or discontented, have of late quitted the country, and others, fearful of being expelled, were unwilling to purchase any goods. The Government has also become rather more alive to its own interests. In a word, money is not now so easily made as it was formerly.

Very much has been said in Europe about the expulsion of Spaniards from this country; some few valuable and useful men have possibly quitted it, but this number has been, I imagine, *very* inconsiderable. Of secret or avowed enemies, Mexico has liberated herself from a very powerful host. 792 Spanish friars, together with a number of their dependents, and some few of the secular clergy have been sent off to Spain, and only about 200 secular and regular ecclesiastics (Spaniards) now remain here.

The President tells me that the tobacco trade will be thrown open, which will, I have no doubt, in course of time, be equally advantageous to Mexico, and injurious to Cuba and those parts of the United States which now supply Europe. Land near our coasts is exceptionally rich, and can be obtained for nothing, or a mere song; and free labour will enable those who grow tobacco here, and who will require a comparatively trifling capital, to undersell all competitors; and the tobacco of Arizona is equal, if not superior, to any they ever before met with.

Texas now attracts much notice here.

Texas.

My friend, General Teran, ex-Minister of War, a very clever man, and by no means enthusiastic, who has been sent there to fix the boundary with the United States, describes it in the same terms as every person who has visited it.

North Americans are pouring into it by hundreds, and thus establishments are in the most flourishing state. The secretary of the Government of that State is about to proceed to the new Colonies in order to locate the settlers agreeably to law.

I have to-day seen an Irishman, a medical man, who has visited my lands of late, and purposes settling in Texas. Were I single I should proceed thither immediately—indeed, Mrs. Wavell, who is quite contented with Mexico, and already speaks Spanish, offers to accompany me. I am indeed grieved that a small capital cannot be raised to send out some of the many industrious families which are now almost starving in England, and more particularly in Ireland. Were a nucleus once formed, we calculate that the number might be quintupled or decupled in each successive year, as each family might grow provisions for probably twenty families.

Some of the mines worked by the English Companies now begin to grow productive. Two belonging to the *Bolaños* Company now produce between forty and fifty thousand dollars weekly, as one of the directors who is now here assures me. The *Real del Monte* mines are also now almost entirely pumped out. It is, however, a very singular circumstance that, considering the immensity of the sum which has been expended by the British Companies, and the poverty of the native miners, so (comparatively) very small a proportion of the sum now annually coined (about 13,000,000 dollars) should be obtained from the mines worked by the former. I think it will be found that whilst the natives worked *new*, the foreigners have generally selected very *old* and *expensive* mines. The former have lived in huts, and employed all their efforts *beneath*, whilst the latter, enjoying every comfort and luxury, have expended by far the greatest proportion of their immense capitals on works *above* the surface of the earth.

The country is perfectly tranquil, although the election of a President takes place in September.

Two rich Spaniards have of late been assassinated here, but as four of the six robbers, whom, it appears, perpetuated the crime, will doubtless be executed very shortly, the alarm which this had excited amongst all their countrymen has subsided. The Spanish Government is, it appears, so mad as to talk of invading this country from Cuba, and of blockading Vera Cruz. Commodore Porter, who commands our squadron consisting of a few good ships but very ill-manned, is a brave and enterprising man, and should the latter scheme be attempted, will, I am

convinced, teach Admiral Laborde that it is very difficult and dangerous to blockade an active and brave enemy. Whatever vessel is by stress of weather, or other accident, separated from the enemy's fleet whilst near Vera Cruz will be in an awkward predicament.

The British Government ought really not to forget that Mexico has suffered a most serious injury from her condescension to its request. I allude to the abolition of slavery throughout this country which was decreed at the suggestion of our first Commissioner, who was instructed to declare that Great Britain would recognize the independence of no State which did not previously abolish slavery. The abolition of slavery.

The same object might probably have been obtained in a manner more consistent with sound policy. The rich inhabitants of Cuba, whose wealth consists in estates worked by slaves, who were previously *most friendly* to Mexico and to independence, have since then adhered to Spain, supported her Navy and fleet (to us so serious an annoyance) for their protection, and have even looked to the United States for the protection of their property, in the event of any change being attempted by the poorer classes. Could they have transferred their slaves with them, the bulk of the population of Louisiana and great numbers of wealthy inhabitants of the other Southern States would have settled in Texas.

Such a population would also have been of infinite importance to Mexico, as these persons consisted of the descendants of the French and Spaniards, who cannot at all amalgamate with the other North Americans.

Were there no fear of the intention being misunderstood, and causing an angry feeling on the part of Great Britain towards this country, I think the Legislative Bodies would act wisely by rescinding the law relative to the abolition of slavery in part, so as to secure all owners of slaves who might become citizens of the Republic, until the full value of their slaves was paid them; a certain proportion, or the whole of every import which they would otherwise pay, being remitted them for that purpose; the slave being liberated as soon as the whole of his price was thus paid.

By this means numbers born to eternal slavery would become free, the owner lose nothing, and this country be the gainer. Besides, some of the natives of Cuba and their slaves would answer admirably for the cultivation of tobacco, to which they are accustomed, on our rich warm lands near the coast, of which we may give them whatever extent they choose to farm.

The Army certainly has improved much since I quitted the country, and all the troops which I have hitherto seen are well-clothed and regularly paid. . . .

P.S.—I much fear the system of economy which has of late been adopted in Great Britain may for a long time deprive us of an envoy of the proper diplomatic standing. Mr. Pakenham appears to be a very sensible, steady, amiable young man, but it is certainly little less than a slight to send so very young a diplomatist to a nation whose Prime Minister was dispatched across the Atlantic to arrange the treaty with us.

The next four letters are from officers in India.

LIEUT.-COLONEL THE HON. J. FINCH *to* SIR HERBERT TAYLOR.

Simla. May 18th, 1828.

MY DEAR SIR HERBERT,

. . . About your movements we know little or nothing except what you have mentioned yourself to Lord Combermere. Reports say you are to have half a dozen places.

I shall not congratulate you until I know for certain what is your fate. I will only say I hope it may be agreeable to yourself.

We have been an unusually long time without any news from England; we got the account of the battle of Navarino only two months ago, since when we have no intelligence. I confess I considered the news as bad; but I may be a grumbler and take a wrong view of the subject. It appears to me that by our meddling, we have got into a medley of disasters which will require skilful management to relieve us from.

The Russians have, however, made peace with Persia, which is some little relief. I look to our joining the Turks ere long, to persuade the Russians to withdraw their army of observation from round Constantinople.

We are enjoying the fine climate of the Himalayas, whilst in the plains they are suffering from heat. Cholera has been destructive amongst the natives in Calcutta, dying, they say, by hundreds. The European troops have escaped tolerably well in this Presidency. . . .

I remain, etc.,
J. FINCH.

COLONEL WILLOUGHBY COTTON *to* SIR HERBERT TAYLOR.

Headquarters Simla. June 19th, 1828.

MY DEAR SIR HERBERT,

I have not written to you for an age, but you must impute it to its true cause—the want of incident in an Indian life worthy of communication.

You will have long known that in consequence of poor

Macdonald's death I have been acting as Adjutant-General, and Dawkins as Q.M.G. On Sir Jeremiah's arrival he will devolve again to the personal staff of Lord Combermere.

The headquarters have been here since the 15th March, and the contrast of climate to the plains is beyond anything I can explain, suffice to say I write this before a fire, and find it by no means too hot. I should conceive it answers every purpose of a voyage to Europe.

An experimental depôt has been formed at Landour for Europeans, and even with the accommodations incomplete as they at present are, has been found to answer perfectly.

Several situations present themselves near this place where a cantonment (for two or three King's corps, say) might be advantageously placed, and as, sooner or later, the policy of bringing your European zone more *appuié* to the actual frontier must be adopted, nothing could be better situated for health and position than placing some of them near Labatos or this place, as they would be on the Sutlej in seven marches, and if your Russian visits India, one column at all events will move by Cabul and Lahore. The Persian has an ancient claim upon Cabul. Where is the improbability of the Russian not only allowing him, but *aiding* him, to take ground there, to make amends for his losses on the Araxes? It would virtually bring them on the Indus in its most fertile course.

Finch and myself live in a cottage together and have a comfortable and quiet *ménage*. The recent appointment of Colonel Fagan to succeed Colonel Watson as Adjutant-General of the Company's army has been productive of annoyance to Finch. He has been interfering most materially with him in his line of duty as military secretary, and would (if I would have entered into it also) have revived all the sources of discontent that formerly caused the perpetual bickerings between Sir S. MacMahon and Colonel Nicolls under Lord Hastings's and Sir Edward Paget's time. . . .

. . . I have gained scarcely anything by my Ava campaigns; and I see Campbell loaded with riches and honours. Our prize money will turn out trifling; and here is Lord Combermere's *luck*—gets himself and his army an immensity for a six weeks' *champagne* campaign in the trenches.

Don't think by this I am discontented, or a real grumbler; it is only knowing you intimately that I vent this bit of spleen against my ill fortune. I should like beyond anything to get appointed a Brigadier in the Mediterranean—anything but returning to idleness and half-pay.

Lord Carnwath is arrived at Calcutta, and has rather puzzled Lord Combermere and the Government how to dispose of his Lordship, as his vacancy was filled from home by Whittingham; but as, by Sir Jasper Nicolls' removal here, a

vacancy exists on the Madras establishment, I presume he will be ordered there.

Lord Combermere, by confusion in his private correspondence, we understand, was nearly relieved *this year* by Lord Dalhousie; whereas he meant to stay if he could till December, 1829. He is living the life of a hermit here, and although I think every man has a right (not in a public situation) to take his own measures for the laudable end of enriching, yet holding the appointment of Commander-in-Chief, it is my opinion, though I may be wrong, that a certain form and public reception is necessary. Yet it is but justice to him to say that with the native army he certainly is popular to a degree. The abolition of corporal punishment, alterations granting additional indulgence as to furlough to the Sepoy, and other measures he has adopted with their army, have been judicious, and have given him deserved praise. Yet his whole soul is absorbed in saving money; and he will carry home more than any Commander-in-Chief ever did, considering the time he remains.

I cannot make out why Willoughby has not got his Lieutenancy in the Coldstreams—his money has been lodged a year or more; Corbet is with the 16th Lancers, learning his duties, which is far preferable to idling at headquarters as A.D.C. with nothing to do. I am most happy to say that Colonel Arnold has written to me in the most flattering terms respecting his conduct and attention.

After the many years fag and labour you have gone through, I can easily conceive the delight with which you looked forward to the *Otium cum dignitate*, but the death of the poor Duke and your retirement have deprived me of a kind and condescending patron and a warm friend.

And now, my dear Sir Herbert, let me, for those acts of friendship you have shown me, and the support you have shown my children, return you my most sincere and fervent thanks and gratitude. . . .

Believe me always your most faithful and sincere,

WILLOUGHBY COTTON.

P.S.—I am happy to say I have got the whole business of the Adg.-General's office here at last up to this time complete.

COLONEL WILLOUGHBY COTTON to SIR HERBERT TAYLOR.

Headquarters Simla. July 28th, 1828.

MY DEAR SIR HERBERT,

Your most welcome letter the 20th November I only had this day the pleasure of receiving, owing to the Dutchman having taken the "Undaunted," I believe, half over the world on his way to Calcutta.

Strange changes truly have taken place. The Duke of Wellington's place I should have thought was the Horse Guards. Impartial people who had the best means of forming a judgment formerly never gave him credit for either political or diplomatical depth, and by his speech last year it might be argued he thought so himself. As to Lord Hill—don't be angry, for no man likes him more than myself—but with his habits, I should think being Commander-in-Chief¹ must be worse than a visit to the regions below; added to which, whether so or not, the whole army believes him to be merely a warming-pan. Would to God they had given it to the Duke of Cambridge or the Duke of Gloucester if you would have remained as secretary. If possible one of the Royal Family ought to hold it, and it would be consonant to the feeling of the whole army.

I do not think that Lord Combermere would do well for the situation—certainly not with Finch as Secretary, who though, when known, is a very good fellow, yet *by manner* has made himself most cruelly disliked by our army.

Lord William (Bentinck) has landed, and brought a Captain (?), a little ugly Dutch sexagenarian they tell me.

Young Verney went back from the Cape. They say Mr. Spring Rice is coming to replace Mr. *Dobbs*, who is only private secretary. If Rice comes it must be to qualify for the Charter question, I suppose. Lord William everybody must like; he is so gentlemanly—but where did he pick up these fellows? Worse than *Giggins*,² *Currey*,³ etc., etc.!

Lord
William
Bentinck.

Nothing can exceed the delightful salubrity of this climate and the sublimity of the scenery. I write this before a large fire, and am far from too warm. It has other effects, which if known would bring many a pair from Europe. . . .

. . . Lord Combermere's thoughts are occupied on two objects, one a road he is making—the other, calculating the interest on the rupees he *has made, is making, and will make*.

His cook ought to be hung on the highest tree in the Himalayas.

I am most happy that good Prince's military talents have been rewarded, and that His Majesty has been graciously pleased to give the Duke of Gloucester Portsmouth. Is *Giggins* Deputy Governor? Not a back will be straight in Portsmouth! How many levees per week?

I am very happy to tell you all the business of the Adjutant's department is completely up. When I took charge

¹ Lord Hill succeeded the Duke of Wellington as Commander-in-Chief in February, 1828, on the latter taking office as First Lord of the Treasury.

² "Giggins" = Lieut.-Colonel Samuel G. Higgins, who was an Equerry in the Duke of Gloucester's Household. Colonel W. Cotton had also been in the Duke's Household.

³ Edmund Currey, Secretary to the Duke of Gloucester.

it was nine months in arrear; no reason whatever exists for its ever being so. It is difficult to get some of the Company's Major-Generals to take the half-yearly inspections of our regiments at the proper period. In fact, they are *perfectly useless* as officers: and so it will be found if they are tried. Lord Combermere, you know, has abolished flogging in the native army. The Sepoys are now beginning to find it out; and in my humble opinion the measure is a bad one, taking away from the hands of a company officer the real *bisque* that kept the native in order, as owing to their caste you cannot even give them the solitary confinement—as the Hindoo Brahmin must cook his own dinner and must wash himself, and must do *poojah* (worship) twice a day. Every officer of standing who has commanded a regiment or who has studied the army, though of course only inflicting corporal punishment when every other means fail, must be aware that in our army it would be impossible to carry on properly the discipline of a corps if you had not the power of punishment. Saints should remember that military men have to do with sinners.

Now, my dear Sir Herbert, permit me to offer for your consideration and kindness one word respecting myself. Probably I shall be on my way home next January; as, if I am not confirmed as Adjutant-General, I shall start immediately, and if confirmed I shall return with Lord C.

My request is that you would do me the essential favour of getting me employed *some way or other*. My horror is to again lapse into idleness; and the clubs, to most of which I belong, would again get me into that expensive though pleasant set I before lived in.

I have had my time so fully occupied both at Poonah and Ava, and since my return, that business has become habitual, and I have, I hope, that proper estimation of the value of my profession that I solicit as the greatest favour active employment. I of course shortly become on half-pay, I should beg to be placed on full pay, as with my two sons in the Army and the allowance I am obliged to give them, my little girl's education, and my wife's necessary expenses, I shall not have money to carry on these points unless I can either get a West Indian Government or some command; and if I am to continue without either on half-pay, I shall be completely ruined. Our Ava prize money will turn out paltry, and the money requisite for my sons' promotion and commissions will make me return with very little.

. . . No Indian news; we are all as dull as a November day.

With my best regards to Lady Taylor, believe me, my dear Sir Herbert, yours ever most faithfully,

WILLOUGHBY COTTON.

MAJOR-GENERAL JASPER NICOLLS *to* SIR HERBERT
TAYLOR.

Meerut. August 17th, 1828.

MY DEAR SIR HERBERT,

Your letter of November last received by the "Undaunted" after a long delay in England and a circuitous voyage was nevertheless most welcome.

Believe me when I say that I most fully entered into the causes of your silence long before that letter reached me, and I very heartily congratulate you on having escaped from an office subjecting you to the operation of so many changes; any one of which, after our heavy loss in his late Royal Highness, would have been sufficiently irksome to you.

One point still requires me to offer my sentiments upon to you, for in whatever position this may find you, your opinion on the subject of the Indian army will be asked for when the Charter¹ may be under consideration. It will be highly important to guard against any false step at that time.

You flatter me much by mentioning that my papers had been read by persons so connected with India as to make them judges; the honest remarks of an uninterested spectator cannot but be of some utility. . . . The papers have given you two very high situations since the date of your letter, and the inference from both clearly is that you will have to give up your domestic retirement—for office. It will be difficult, however, to find any place involving so much labour as you have been used to.

I can say nothing of Lord W. Bentinck. His administration has been entirely free from display. He knows India too well, and his own dignity also, to aim at making an impression. He will patiently await "the lame man," and I sincerely hope and think he will be rewarded by his full approbation after an able rule of some years. . . .

Lord Combermere is very well; he has saved himself from a hot season by his residence in the hills, and will, I think, return to England as hale and active as he came out. He returns to Bengal in February next.

India is exceedingly quiet and I think not treacherously so, neither within nor without do I see any rising clouds; and I am rejoiced to say that I think the army visibly improved since 1826. One obvious reason is that there has not been any recruiting since that time, and the regiments have been two years stationary almost in every quarter.

¹ The new Charter of the East India Company.

The officers are as usual peaceably repining at the slowness of promotion, and suggesting modes of accelerating it by pensioning Lieut.-Colonels, but no good result has yet attended their efforts. . . .

J. NICOLLS.

CHAPTER XIV

1828-1829

Letters mostly from Abroad : Sir J. Harvey (Irish Police)—Major Forster (Clare Election)—Princess Augusta—Colonel C. Middleton—The Duke of Gordon—J. Caulfield (Irish Catholics)—Sir J. Kempt—Sir J. Ker Porter—Lord Bloomfield—Sir Frederick Adam—Sir J. Reynett—Brigadier-General Willoughby Cotton—Lord Combermere—Lord William Bentinck, etc.

The Constabulary Force in Ireland.

SIR J. HARVEY to SIR HERBERT TAYLOR.

Ely Place, Dublin. May 12th, 1828. 6 a.m.

MY DEAR SIR HERBERT,

Absence from Dublin has alone prevented my sooner thanking you for your letter, and replying to one part of it. I have ill-expressed myself if I appear as being dissatisfied with my present appointment. On the contrary, I am highly flattered by the implied compliment that I am qualified to correct the abuses which may exist, and to put it upon a better footing. I am labouring zealously in this object, and I am far from feeling a doubt of my being able to do much good to an establishment of the very first importance (as is now universally admitted) for the tranquillity of this country.

Since its formation the *laws are executed*—crime no longer stalks through the land unchecked and unpunished—criminal warrants are no longer a dead letter—there is scarcely such a thing to be found in Ireland as a warrant unexecuted, whether directed against a desperate individual or a lawless gang. Even those petty nuisances which when I was last in Ireland disgraced the streets and roads, I mean the heaps of abomination which were seen in front of every cottage, are fast disappearing—the cur dog or the pig no longer endangers the life of the mounted traveller—the constabulary by a quiet but firm discharge of their useful labours have succeeded wholly in many parts of Ireland, partially in all, in removing these annoyances.

Go into the courts of justice and you then see these valuable men (almost the only witnesses ever produced) giving their evidence with temper, intelligence and firmness, whether it be for the conviction of crime or the suppression of nuisance. The odium which necessarily attaches itself to their vocation (that

of coercing a half-savage population, and enforcing the due administration of the laws) is fast wearing away, though theirs is still and must long continue a hateful office; the liberal pay that is attached to it, however, and above all the importance and useful nature of its duties, must always make it a respectable one. When I call it *hateful*, I mean of course, to the lower orders only, for with the gentry and magistracy of the country it has long since become deservedly popular; still many abuses are to be reformed; and the first step now has been taken in forming, since my arrival (though of course inexperienced as I was in my duties, I could give but little assistance to my colleagues), something approaching to a uniform system. Lord Anglesea¹ takes much interest in bringing this establishment into a state of greater efficiency, and you need not doubt my zealously and indefatigably doing all that may be in my power to second his wishes. . . .

My mind is most fully made up to labour assiduously in my new vocation, and I have only to hope it may be effectually.

I ought to be ashamed of taking up so much of your time and of consuming so much of my own of which I have little to spare, but I felt desirous of possessing you earnestly of my sentiments, both with regard to my present office and to that which I have so long had in view; and as to the rest you will read this when you happen to have a leisure moment; and to write it I have risen from my bed at a rather earlier hour than usual.

My habits as regards my office are to travel three or four days in each week, and devote the remainder to the correspondence, which is very extensive, and the regulation of my office and revenue.

Major Parnell obtained Lord Anglesea's leave to accompany me round the district on my first visit, which I was very glad of, and I hope it may serve him. For all I have yet seen he appears to me to have been very zealous and active. Neglect was, I understand, established in evidence against him, but nothing at all affecting his honour—he resigned, and was not removed. With many apologies, etc., . . .

J. HARVEY.

The election in Clare, July, 1828, and the remarkable success of Daniel O'Connell over Mr. Vesey Fitzgerald (who was seeking re-election on his appointment as President of the Board of Trade) once more brought the Catholic question immediately to the front. The following letter gives some idea of the intense feeling at Limerick:—

¹ Lord Lieutenant of Ireland.

MAJOR FORSTER to SIR HERBERT TAYLOR.

Limerick. July 4th, 1828.

DEAR SIR,

You will have heard of the extraordinary state this district has been thrown into by the contested election for the county of Clare. It is still going on, Mr. Vesey Fitzgerald not having the least chance.

Hitherto a drunken man has not been seen; everything has been carried on with surprising regularity, and Mr. O'Connell (aided by the priests) has directed everything. The excitement amongst the people is really surprising, and no one will want further proof of the Catholic association governing Ireland. Mr. O'Connell did not start until Mr. Fitzgerald had completed his canvas.

Sir Charles Doyle is at Clare Castle, having immediately round Ennis, 2 guns (six-pounders), 450 cavalry, and 1000 infantry, principally flank companies. He has under his orders three regiments of cavalry, eight reserve companies, and eight battalions of infantry, with a demi-brigade of artillery.

I have been left here (the assistant Quartermaster-General being on leave of absence) to arrange the quartering of the troops as they pour into Limerick, pushing them on in direct echelon between it and Ennis. This is now done, and I proceed this evening to join my General. We have the headquarters of five regiments in garrison.

Everything is perfectly quiet, but there is a depth of feeling and an intensity of interest amongst the people, which might lead to the worst results were not every precaution taken to show them that we were ready. Their properties, wives, children, and lives they hold as nothing compared with their religion, and if everything passes off quietly—as it appears it will do—it will be owing to the *agitators and priests*.

I trust you will excuse this long detail, which I should not have troubled you with, had I not thought you would have liked it.

I remain, etc., . . .

M. FORSTER.

P.S.—O'Connell is 900 ahead this morning!

Early in September Sir H. Taylor's appointment as Adjutant-General was announced. The event seems to have been very popular in the Army judging from the numerous congratulations which poured in on all sides. I may here notice three short

allusions to it—the first being from Princess Augusta, whose friendship had always been very genuine:—

Bagshot Park. August 28th, 1828.

MY DEAR SIR HERBERT,

I cannot let any one congratulate you in my house but myself upon your new appointment. I am very particularly happy that the King did it of himself . . . and it is gratifying to me that my friend meets with such kindness from my brother. . . .

I trust, my dear Taylor, that it may please God to keep you long in a situation in which your abilities will be of essential service to the country, and I agree that you need not be in Parliament. I hope Charlotte¹ is quite well—my best love to her; ever your most faithful friend,

AUGUSTA.

LIEUT.-COLONEL CHARLES MIDDLETON *to* SIR HERBERT TAYLOR.

Worcester. September 8th, 1828.

MY DEAR SIR,

I can no longer resist the pleasure of again offering my congratulations to you upon the occasion of your recent appointment to the office of Adjutant-General, and no man on earth can possibly do so with feelings of more unfeigned sincerity.

I rejoice, and am sure I do so in common with every other military man, at seeing you once more in immediate connection with that department of your profession from which you retired in opposition to the general feelings of the nation; and may you never again quit it, for surely the situation in which you are now placed is the one of all others that your best friends could desire to see you fill. . . .

I remain, etc.,

CHARLES MIDDLETON.

THE DUKE OF GORDON *to* SIR H. TAYLOR.

Gordon Castle. September 9th, 1828.

MY DEAR FRIEND,

I have written to Clinton. . . . I shall only add that I do most sincerely congratulate the Army on your late appointment. I know that it will give pleasure and satisfaction to every soldier.

May everything good always attend you.

Most truly, etc.,
GORDON.

¹ Lady Taylor.

Catholicism in Ireland.

MR. J. CAULFIELD to SIR HERBERT TAYLOR.

16, Finch Street, Liverpool. October 2nd, 1828.

DEAR SIR,

. . . The statements that I beg to forward may possibly prove in some respects worthy of your attention ; if otherwise, I trust at least that you will not be offended at so humble an individual trespassing on that time which might be otherwise more profitably employed.

Without further observations I shall proceed to give verbatim the passage out of a letter received yesterday from a gentleman of the Roman Catholic persuasion who was writing to me on business of otherwise a private nature. I must merely notice that he is a man of some distinction and of independence, and married (as may be observed by his alluding to the fact) to a Protestant. Knowing him to be a really *liberal* man in his way of thinking, I had in a late letter requested him to state to me what his opinions were respecting the state of Ireland. He writes : " My connection renders me here rather a suspected character—obviously at least a lukewarm Catholic—and in consequence my means of information on the general state of politics is very confined. I thank Heaven I am not in the secret, but the scenes that daily present themselves around me are too unequivocal proofs of the melancholy prospect before us all. I confess my wife and young family interest me this moment most painfully ; perhaps the uncheering prospect of an approaching winter adds to that state of nerve which is so extremely harassing.

" You may be assured that there is a deeper laid system of rebellion abroad, even than that which had some years back plunged this ill-fated country into such scenes of blood. I have remarked that I am considered lukewarm in the cause. You will believe me when I assure you that I cannot admit a casual visitor into my house of an opposite religious persuasion, without a fear of their assassination at my very door ; although to avoid suspicion I have liberally subscribed to the Catholic rent, and sorry I am to remark that our clergy are too deeply involved in the dark system of espionage, which assumes a more sombre appearance every hour.

" A circumstance has lately incidentally come to my knowledge that, *if fact*, bears hard against their sacred character, and that it is a fact I am sorry to avow. There have been for some time back—I am told years—young persons originally prepared for Holy Orders in our Church, who are at this moment enrolled in the ranks of almost every regiment in Ireland, nay, and some of them—with additional pain I write

it—who are in priest's orders who feel no remorse at thus degrading their characters, and it is too evident that the existing Government cannot be aware of this circumstance, when they pay so little attention to the forces they send to this infatuated country. . . .”

Further on in his letter he excuses himself for continuing a member of a Church which thus appears militant against the amiable characteristics of the Christian religion, but he emphatically adds: “I cannot divest myself of an inherent attachment to the religion of my forefathers. I do not combine its sacred principles with the dark intrigues of a bigoted faction.”

I have taken thus the liberty, my kind Sir, to be particular in sending these observations verbatim, because you will observe by the style, etc., that they do not proceed from the pen of an uneducated person, or from a man whose communications may not be relied on. I have at different periods known him from his earliest day, and a more amiable character does not exist. My long knowledge of him, of course, induced him to be explicit to me, and as he must still remain concealed from public note, I think myself by no means reprehensible in copying those passages from his letter that appear to be so particularly interesting—especially when I consider from a reference to part of the communication, that he desired that *some useful* notoriety might be attached to it.

I remember a similar circumstance once being detected in a regiment stationed in Ireland, and the party was hanged; it was at the period of Emmet's rebellion in Ireland. Perhaps you will permit me, without being offended at the folly of such an observation, to suggest the probable advantage of partially embodying the English Militia at the approaching unavoidable contest—and to forward them to Ireland.

I cannot, Sir, avoid noticing a subject still further corroborative of the progressive insolence of those Irish traitors; last week a regular printed notice was posted up in this town, inviting all the Catholics to attend on the ensuing Sunday at their several chapels, *expressly by notice from Mr. O'Connell* to pay in their Catholic rents! I saw them so posted, and went out in the evening to take one of them down for the purpose of forwarding it, but some of the more prudent of the party had been beforehand, and before morning not one of them was to be seen.

I beg to remark that this town (Liverpool!) abounds in Catholics—almost all the labouring classes are of that persuasion.

A few days ago a head mason who employs from forty to fifty men daily was regularly notified by them in a body that if he retained a certain man, whom they named, in his works, the

whole body of his labourers were decided in striking and quitting his business; and on inquiry as to the cause of their discontent they plainly told him "that they would work only with persons of their own religion, and would not permit any others to join with them." The man was a Protestant!

This scandalous matter went off here without any observation; the master complied with their terms, and the poor fellow was dismissed his service. It was by accident that I heard of the transaction, and having inquired into the particulars I forthwith forwarded an account of it to the Mayor through his respected chaplain.

I have no further apology for the contents of this long communication than by a reference to the motives that have induced me to forward it, and hope I am not too officious in endeavouring to discharge a duty, which I conceive at the present time imperative to every honest man who feels for his country.

With every sincere feeling of respect and regard, . . . etc.,
J. CAULFIELD.

Sir J. Kempt had been recently appointed Governor-General of Canada. While occupying this position he was highly commended by the Duke of Wellington during a period of great difficulty.

SIR J. KEMPT to SIR HERBERT TAYLOR.

Castle of St. Louis, Quebec. October 10th, 1828.

I have always very great pleasure in seeing your handwriting, and have to thank you for your acceptable letter of the 21st July, received by the August mail about a *fortnight* ago.

My removal from Nova Scotia will prevent my keeping you informed, as I have hitherto done, of the mining concerns in that Province in which you, as the executor of the poor Duke of York, take an interest; but I am happy to acquaint you that I left all matters going on well.

. . . I arrived here on the 1st September, was sworn in as the Administrator of the Government on the 8th, and am now fairly established in the Castle of St. Louis as Governor-in-Chief; but I have not received a single line of instructions from His Majesty's Government in England as to the course I am to pursue when I meet the Legislature; and meet it I must on, or before, the 21st of next month, or violate the Constitution.

I have found many matters, as you may believe, in a very unsettled state, and in great confusion, occasioned by the bickerings and want of harmony that have prevailed for a long

series of years between the different branches of the Legislature. They tell me, however, that all parties are now heartily tired of the present state of things, and sincerely disposed to enter into a compromise of what they consider their respective rights. God grant that it may be so.

I take no part whatever in the measures of the late administration, and if the leaders of the House of Assembly are not dishonest in their intentions, and will place confidence in me, I entertain a hope that I may be able in a couple of sessions to restore peace to the Legislature, and to place the public affairs of the Province on a satisfactory footing, but should distrust and jealousy continue unhappily to be the order of the day, no such result can be looked for.

Lord Dalhousie had sailed for England *before* the report of the Committee of the House of Commons on the Civil Government of Canada was received here, but he will see it when he lands, and feel *highly indignant* at the severe animadversion which the Committee have thought proper to make on his administration of the Government; if I am not greatly mistaken he will speak his mind pretty plainly in his place in the House of Lords when Parliament meets, and make such an *exposé* as will not be very pleasing to some ex-Ministers and Under Secretaries of the Colonial Department.

He has, I really believe, great reason to complain, as well as Maitland,¹ of the conduct of the Government at home on many occasions. The latter paid me a visit lately, and he talked of nothing else the whole time. *He* says that "Lord Goderich and Mr. Horton² not only listened to fellows devoid of character and principle, who went home from Upper Canada to complain of grievances that did not exist, but *actually at their instigation set aside measures that had been adopted by the Colonial Government in strict accordance with instructions received from Lord Bathurst when Secretary of State*, and that without any previous communication with the local Government!" Indeed, the first intimation Maitland had of the circumstance to which I allude was seeing a long correspondence between Mr. Horton and the "Colonial Radical" published in the London papers!!! The fellow returned to the Province, bragging of his reception by His Majesty's Government, and absolutely bearding the Governor of the Colony, accusing him of having *deceived* the Provincial Legislature, and having committed acts of the greatest injustice and oppression!!!

I *guess* that you will have a *breeze* in Parliament next season when the Canada Report comes under consideration, for Lord Dalhousie is not a man to sit at ease under unmerited reproof

¹ Sir Peregrine Maitland, Lieut.-Governor of Upper Canada.

² Robert Wilmot-Horton, who for several years had been Under-Secretary of State for War and the Colonies.

such as the Committee by a majority of one (several members being absent) have thought proper to express in their report.

Maitland says: "If such a system should continue, no man who values his character and his honour will accept of a Colonial Government." If any trick should be played me such as that of which he complains, no power on earth would induce me to retain this Government one day longer than the time it would require to lay my resignation at His Majesty's feet.

You know that I had no desire whatever to be removed from Nova Scotia, and although highly gratified by the honour which my present appointment has conferred upon me, it is the only one circumstance which reconciled me to the situation, for here I have everything to lose, with nothing to gain, either in the way of character or profit; and I am almost tired of Colonial Government and wish for a little freedom and repose.

I was quite certain that your appointment in the Ordnance was not of your own seeking, but your services to the public are too valuable to be dispensed with, and you may soon be called upon to fill one of the highest stations in the State.

Make my best regards acceptable to Lady Taylor, and believe me ever, . . . etc.,

JAMES KEMPT.

Bolivar and the Republic of Colombia.

SIR R. KER PORTER (*British Consul at Venezuela*)
to SIR HERBERT TAYLOR.

City of Caracas. October 21st, 1828.

I had the pleasure of writing to you some few packets since, which letter would tell you that my little drawings (so long promised) of the Llanero horsemen were in forwardness, and should be sent to England by an early opportunity; believe me I feel the greatest satisfaction in now dispatching them to the care of my dear sister Jane, who I dare say will lose no time in putting you in possession of them, and may I beg you to receive my pencilled efforts as trifling but sincere acknowledgments for the many kindnesses conferred so often upon me.

I likewise, in the same letter, mentioned my intention of applying for leave of absence—the application has since been made, and I anxiously hope the Earl of Aberdeen will not refuse me, so that by his acquiescence I shall be enabled to say adieu to this part of the world sometime in the month of April next. I mean to take the United States on my way to Europe, but shall halt there only a very short time, in order to make the most of my leave. . . .

. . . Colombia is now perfectly quiet, and I hope at length the foundation stone of her prosperity has been laid, viz. by the unanimous nomination of Bolivar as "Supreme Chief," with unlimited powers, such as will authorize him to make whatever changes his wisdom may think fit, either in the Constitution, or even in forming a new species of Government.

This decision on the part of the nation at large was the only resource left by which the moderate and well-judging could be united into one party, for we were in a wretched state, and on the eve of ruinous events; but I trust the clouds are passed over, and that the Liberator's present elevation and the extraordinary faculties with which he is vested, will check every appearance of anarchy in this republic, as well as tend to annihilate that false and Utopian system of liberty which has literally bewildered and demoralized nearly the whole of South America.

The Warrior Legislator has not yet begun his arduous task of rule; ere I start for the old world, the new arrangements will, no doubt, be in full force. The curb must be a powerful one, and the reins held with a firm hand, or the second state will be worse than the first.

I am not a little impatient to learn how far the magnanimity of the young Emperor Nicholas will be put to the test should the Turkish capital fall, for I really think, after he has driven the Turks across the Bosphorus (unless a secret arrangement has already been made between the three Powers) he will leave the future fate of Constantinople to the decision of France and England; at the same time, I should not be surprised to find His Imperial Majesty left, not only in possession of the great City, but also of the Provinces of Wallachia, Moldavia, Bulgaria and such part of Roumelia as would just keep him within the Sea of Marmora; in which case, France and England would naturally have come to an understanding relative to the annexation *respectively* of the rest of Greece and Egypt. Austria, of course, *must* have her humbler share in the new balance of power.

We transatlantic politicians being so far from the great seat of public events, and their details reaching us in so dislocated a manner, it is the height of presumption in any of us to form an idea of what is likely to be the result on that side of the Mediterranean immediately under the guidance of the Triple Alliance. However, some counterpoise ought to be established, or my friend the Emperor will become most overpoweringly colossal. . . .

R. KER PORTER.

LORD BLOOMFIELD (*British Minister at Stockholm*) to SIR
HERBERT TAYLOR.

Stockholm. November 1st, 1828.

. . . I most sincerely hope that the change which has affected your position may have been desirable to you. I was greatly shocked at the event which led to it.¹ . . .

On my journey hither I made a short stay at Berlin, where I experienced from your brother the very kindest and most hospitable welcome. I fortunately arrived at the moment of the manœuvres at Potsdam, with which I was very much edified. It was a fine sight, 20,000 men nearly, and almost all from 20 to 23 years of age—such magnificent stuff. . . .

Our cold is beginning, and I already feel a return of my tormenting complaint of last year. It makes me very wretched, *mais il faut y soumettre*; consoling one's self with the observation I remember the venerable Queen Charlotte to have made: "One does not get so quickly well when the 6 goes before the 2 as when it follows." God bless you, my dear Taylor.

Ever affectionately yours,

BLOOMFIELD.

The following extract of a letter (dealing in various military matters) from Sir H. Taylor refers to a habit which had been prevalent in the service, and which he naturally desired to check as far as possible.

SIR H. TAYLOR to MAJOR-GENERAL WOODFORD
(*Lieut.-Governor at Corfu*).

Horse Guards. November 7th, 1828.

. . . I am determined, while at the War Office, to check the objectionable and disgraceful practice which still prevails in some corps, and with some officers, of using coarse and offensive language to non-commissioned officers and soldiers, and which is more injurious to discipline than any other circumstance.

When I was Military Secretary I availed myself of every opportunity to reprobate it, and I am determined to suffer none to escape me of checking it. I may perhaps carry the point too far, but I think that a non-commissioned officer should never be reproved in the hearing of the private, and even that a good private soldier—one whom the officer does not wish to expose, or whose spirit he does not wish to break—should be called out of the ranks and admonished privately, and not in the hearing of his comrades. I am convinced that in all cases the effect

¹ The death of Sir Henry Torrens, the preceding Adjutant-General.

will be much greater, and more lasting, and that the good soldier will give his officer credit, and bear him affection for the consideration shown for his feelings; and I am sure that no circumstance, not even the necessity of exposing the individual, can justify the use of a coarse expression which is in fact degrading to the officer who uses it.

I wish that my friend Stovin would feel this. I have the greatest regard for him, and I know no one whom I should have been more glad to have had as an assistant at the Horse Guards, though I am aware that I should have been obliged frequently to repress the exuberance of his temper. . . .

H. TAYLOR.

Sir Frederick Adam (the son of a distinguished Scotch Judge¹) had been, since 1824, the Lord High Commissioner of the Ionian Islands. He alludes here to recent Russian successes which were beginning to disturb the minds of many people at this time, and which, as will be seen, are referred to in a similar spirit later on.

LIEUT.-GENERAL SIR FREDERICK ADAM *to* SIR H. TAYLOR.

Corfu. November 17th, 1828.

MY DEAR GENERAL,

If I have been somewhat more dilatory than many of your other friends in congratulating themselves on your being in the high office you now occupy, you will not think I am the less sincerely pleased to see you there. I believe there never was a man called to fill an important station who brought to it more efficient qualifications to fulfil the duties of it than you have done on becoming Adjutant-General. . . .

This feeling is the result of the experience which the whole profession had of your qualities in your last most difficult military employment.

To me personally, your being the depositary of all the traditions of our lamented Duke's administration of the Army has made your appointment more peculiarly acceptable.

I hope your duties now will be less harassing to you than your secretarial duties must have been, and less laborious too, leaving you some time for relaxation and for exercise.

The fall
of Varna.

We have just here got the positive news of the fall of Varna, and the reports, I fear too well founded, of those recent successes of the Russians over the Turks. I have great confidence in the Prime Minister, and that he will find resources

¹ The Rt. Hon. William Adam, Lord Chief Commissioner of the Scottish Jury Court.

in his sagacity to meet the preponderance which Russia is aiming at. The time is not yet come for our *Corfiot*¹ President of Greece to begin to give us trouble in these islands; but these Russian advances will accelerate the movement, and it will not be lost upon him. For the present we are going on well, and I am quite as well pleased to have additional battalions. The wisdom of keeping up our force you always saw; and I hope you will continue to inculcate that principle. . . .

FREDERICK ADAM.

SIR JAMES REYNETT to SIR H. TAYLOR.

Hanover. December 30th, 1828.

. . . I am but recently arrived. I found the Duke (of Cambridge), I am happy to say, not only in good health but in excellent spirits. The change from the bustle of Paris to the quietude of Hanover is rather striking, though I cannot say that I was so much *ébloui* by the former as I have found most other people. To be sure, there is much to see—and it is seen with great convenience—but that once exhausted, time can even hang heavy, I believe, at Paris, though it seems to be a sort of second heaven to our countrymen, of whom it is said there are 40,000 in Paris, and that their expenditure is seven million sterling per annum.

The half of this number and this sum is, however, certainly below the truth, and it therefore remains to be seen how long England will be able to indulge its children in the destructive fancy of preferring any country to their own. I trust this mild winter continues to agree with you and Lady Taylor.

Believe me, my dear Sir,

Yours most truly,

J. H. REYNETT.

Letters from India.

BRIGADIER-GENERAL WILLOUGHBY COTTON to SIR H. TAYLOR.

Headquarters, Camp Bandah. January 30th, 1829.

. . . I am doing still, by Lord Combermere's particular request, the duties of Adjutant-General at headquarters. . . . Now, my dear Sir Herbert, let me request one favour of you . . . to interest yourself so far on my behalf as to name me to Sir George Murray for one of the West India islands. . . . Recollect I have two sons in the Army, who with

¹ Count Capo d'Istria. He was born in Corfu.

every prudence, yet continue to draw on *their aged parents*; and my wife and daughter have a pretty conception of the uses of a *marchand des modes*. . . .

WILLOUGHBY COTTON.

LORD COMBERMERE to SIR H. TAYLOR.

Camp near Allahabad. February 10th, 1829.

. . . What changes and counterchanges have taken place since I left England! Partial ones only will, I trust, take place for some years; and I sincerely hope the Duke may long remain at the head of a good and fair Tory Administration. As long as this is the case, our glorious constitution will remain unimpaired.

Poor Torrens's death was as unexpected as it is lamented by me, and I am sure by all who knew him. The vacancy thereby occasioned has been filled up in a manner most gratifying to me and the whole Army.

I have been on a tour of inspection since October, and have been much gratified on finding a considerable improvement in every regiment of both services since I *last* saw them. I am sorry to find that we shall send home more men than usual upon similar occasions, owing to an unwise and unjust measure of the Hon. Company of Directors, viz. discontinuing the indulgence of allowing the services of soldiers in H.M. Army who enter into the Company to be reckoned—so that few, if any, can expect to receive a pension when invalided.

To-morrow I shall embark, and shall proceed down the Ganges to Dacca and Chittagong, from which place I shall go in a steamer to Arracan, etc., and afterwards I intend to go to P. (?) on the coast about 300 miles west of Calcutta. After enjoying the sea breezes and bathing at P. (?) I shall go to the Residency about the end of June, and shall remain there till Dalhousie arrives. If he sails the end of June or first week in July, I shall be able to get away early in November, and I am particularly anxious to do so, in order that I may be in my place in the House of Lords early in the Session of '30.

Willoughby Cotton was disappointed at not getting the appointment of Adjutant-General in India. I have made him Brigadier-General, and have given him the command of Berhampore, where there are two King's regiments. He means to go home with me.

I am very anxious to get Willoughby a West India island, and I shall be much obliged to you if you will say so to my friend Murray. . . .

Believe me, my dear friend,

Ever most truly yours,

COMBERMERE.

Lord William Bentinck had succeeded Lord Amherst as Governor of Bengal, and in 1833 became the first Governor-General of India after the new charter of the East India Company.

LORD WILLIAM BENTINCK *to* SIR H. TAYLOR.

Calcutta. February 14th, 1829.

MY DEAR TAYLOR,

I hope you like your new appointment, but as there was once an idea of our joining together in the East,¹ I hope I may still entertain the hope that this event will some day or other take place. Be a governor—a good one you must be.

Malcolm will, I think, not stay long at Bombay, and Lushington has been unwell, and is apprehensive about his health, and is, I suspect, a little homesick. I should not be surprised at an early vacancy in these Governments. If you have the choice, take Bombay. It is far superior to the Coast both in climate and interesting business. You may come and relieve me, if you like, but not immediately. . . . I have had a feverish attack, but am well again. I, however, feel that at my age I have no time to spare, and that I must get home again as soon as I can. In the mean time I will do as much good as I can. The Army here is dreadfully disturbed with an order reducing certain stations to half battalions. It is not a well-imagined instruction, for it is good for nothing, neither for its principle nor its economy; and in the mean time gives great disgust.

The Horse Guards have nothing to do with it, I presume. . . .

. . . W. BENTINCK.

¹ Taylor had been offered the post of Commander-in-Chief in India.

CHAPTER XV

1829

Letters from: Lieut.-General T. B. Reynardson—Sir Edward Codrington (Navarino)—Sir F. Adam—Lord Bloomfield—The Duke of Cambridge—Major-General Alexander Woodford—Mrs. Serres—Sir F. Barnard (the King's Library)—Sir John Dillon—Major-General the Hon. F. Ponsonby—Sir H. Taylor, etc.

LIEUT.-GENERAL T. B. REYNARDSON to SIR H. TAYLOR.

Holywell. January 9th, 1829.

House
party at
Ape-
thorpe.

. . . Although I may have in future very little to do with any military orders, I cannot avoid telling you how very much pleased I was with your circular of December 1st. The paragraphs beginning "finally" show a kind of feeling and a knowledge of human nature which cannot be too strongly impressed upon the minds of officers; in short, we like what coincides with our own ideas upon any subject.

You heard of the Duke of Wellington being at Apethorpe lately? I was of the party to celebrate Lord Westmoreland's birthday; and the thing is generally kept up in earnest *downstairs*. Fancy the Duke, the Lord Chancellor, the Judge Advocate and others of minor note supporting the noble Earl himself (seventy this birthday) in two country dances.

The Premier was in good spirits; I wish he had as good reason to be comfortable upon a prospect of a settlement of the Catholic question as he has upon the increase of the Revenue.

Pray remember me kindly to Lady Taylor, and pray give the enclosed memorandum to your butler—that nothing may be omitted for the credit of *our cheese*.

You say you have a touch of the gout; the same suspicion attaches to me, but I am too poor a subject—my leg was jarred against a gatepost one day out hunting, and the ankle crushed, so that I was confined to the sofa for three weeks this fine season, and, indeed, the dance at Apethorpe was my first effort of activity. . . .

T. BIRCH REYNARDSON.

Holywell. February 2nd, 1829.—I am so glad that you are taking in hand the equipment and messing of officers, which

had arrived at an absurd pitch; it really will be a *kind* act if you can by degrees cause such matters to be judiciously regulated by authority. It is quite consistent with the straightforward good sense of your chief to support you.

Dr. Willis¹ is young again, or himself again, I should say; he sang here the other night, danced a quadrille at the Stamford ball with my daughter, and has been riding from Greatford to Holywell and Cottesmere this extra severe weather, when no one else thought of mounting a horse. . . .

T. BIRCH REYNARDSON.

After the battle of Navarino (in 1827), in which the Turkish fleet was destroyed, Greece was practically independent, but Sir Edward Codrington, the British Admiral, was blamed on the ground that he had misinterpreted his instructions. The British Government were inclined to be neutral in the war between Turkey and Greece, and had been proposing an armistice, they therefore considered the battle of Navarino to be a mistake. Codrington's letter to Taylor gives a concise conversation he had with the Premier on the matter:—

SIR EDWARD CODRINGTON to SIR H. TAYLOR.

Windsor. February 15th, 1829.

. . . I believe it is since we met that I had my interview with the Duke of Wellington. He told me, as he has written, that neither he nor any one individual of the Government, nor the Government as a whole, bear me the least hostility! He added that nobody estimated more than he did all my professional conduct and service. I asked: "Then why was I so superseded?"

—"Because you interpreted your orders differently from myself and my colleagues, and we could not go on."

—"I understood them in the same manner as *my* colleagues, Count Guilleminot, your friends Adam and Ponsonby, the value of whose opinions you know, and of every other person to whom I have shown them; and therefore I could but act on that impression. But if you, or any number of either of the three Governments I have had to act under, had given me a different explanation of them I should readily have attended to it."

—"Well! my colleagues as well as myself, still understand them differently."

—"Will your Grace point out the part in which we differ?"

¹ One of the principal medical attendants of George III. in the latter part of his reign.

—" You must excuse me ! ! ! "

Of course it was useless my prolonging the dialogue; although he volunteered the opinion of *my* treaty being a very important arrangement, and said he should always be glad to see me whenever I like to call. If the disposition here indicated be sincere it would be no difficult matter to put things to rights. But he should recollect that it is not an injury merely to me individually, but to the whole fleet; and indeed, I may say, to the whole service.

Very sincerely yours,
EDWARD CODRINGTON.

SIR FREDERICK ADAM (*Lord High Commissioner of the Ionian Islands*) to SIR H. TAYLOR.

Corfu. February 22nd, 1829.

Sir
Frederick
Stovin.

. . . I give Sir Frederick Stovin leave of absence, and he goes up by the present steamer to Ancona. You will probably see him in the first days of April; you know him already, but I cannot let him go hence without saying of him that I think him one of the superior men of the service—high motives of action, strong judgment—rapid decision—great energy and determination of mind; all qualities fitting him for command. If he has some infirmity of temper remaining still, it is greatly less than it used to be, and much more under control.

I regret his leaving me not only as a military commandant, but as one of the great pillars of our Government here, for he has managed the difficult island of Zante with a discretion and judgment most creditable to himself.

Stovin is one of the men I most value, as having a thorough knowledge of what is called the service—perfectly master of all the springs by which a regiment is put into and kept in good order—a thorough practical economist, and a Commandant with sound views on this subject.

The recent general orders (which we Colonists attribute to you) on the subject of economy have attracted all our observation, and for my part I heartily go along with you in your wise plans of curtailing expense in dress, in living, etc., amongst officers.

I know Stovin has many points on these various subjects which he wishes to submit to you. I hope you will give him an opportunity, and I think I may venture to say you will find his views sound and practical. We are looking anxiously for the King's speech; I trust we shall keep peace, and check the ambition of the Northern autocrat. My neighbour

Capodistrias,¹ in my firm belief, is Russian to the heart's core.

Always, my dear Taylor, etc., . . .

FREDERICK ADAM.

LORD BLOOMFIELD to SIR H. TAYLOR.

Stockholm. March 27th, 1829.

. . . We are full of anxious solicitude for the march onwards of the question under discussion. My vote has been invariably plumped against; but under the sanction of such Protestant authorities as the King, the Duke of Wellington, and Mr. Peel, I should give the Bill² my best support, and whenever it becomes law, however humble the sweep of my influence may be, it shall be directed towards the furtherance of all its provisions to the very utmost of my power.

Catholic
emancipa-
tion.

. . . I am unable to send you anything from the East, the young General Süchteln is here for a few days to visit his father, my colleague, from Russia. He commanded the first corps before Varna, and from all I collect from him, little doubt is entertained of the issue of the campaign. He says the Turks have unrivalled qualities for the defence of towns; but *en campagne*, he holds them very low. . . .

Affectionately yours,

BLOOMFIELD.

DUKE OF CAMBRIDGE (*Governor-General of Hanover*) to SIR H. TAYLOR.

Hanover. April 6th, 1829.

MY DEAR TAYLOR,

I have many thanks to return you for your kind letter of the 31st of last month which I received yesterday morning. The account you give of Lady Taylor's health tho' not so satisfactory as I could wish is, however, thank God, much better, and I trust that now spring is advancing she will soon feel benefit from the change of season, and will be able to enjoy the fine air of the Regent's Park.

We have had one of the longest and severest winters I recollect for many years. The ground was covered with snow for about two months, and though it has disappeared in the valleys, for this last month we have had few nights without

¹ Soon after the battle of Navarino, Count Capo d'Istria became President of Greece.

² The Catholic Bill, brought forward by Mr. Peel, and passed in April of this year.

frost, and such a prevalence of easterly winds which have checked the vegetation very much. Indeed, I never saw so backward a spring, nor a more unhealthy season, which unfortunately still continues. Thank God, all my family have got over the winter very well. Our children have lately had the chicken pox, but are now quite well.

I am expecting your brother, who is on his way to England. Poor fellow, he has been very ill at Berlin, but he was sufficiently recovered to give a magnificent party, which I have been told has been the handsomest fête during the carnival in that city.

I have been delighted to find that you have reason to believe that the report I requested you to inquire after is not correct. It will be a great relief to my mind if this proves to be the fact, for I have a horror of being suspected of not having fulfilled the last wishes of any individual who has confided the execution of them to me.

Most fully do I agree with you in your remark at the great measure which has been brought forward in Parliament, and as a proof I have given my proxy to the Duke of Wellington.

I cannot deny that I am very glad to be out of England at the present moment, when party feeling runs so high that it makes society unpleasant. Most sincerely do I rejoice to hear the excitement is not so considerable as I conceived it to be. You will, I have no doubt, have been as much shocked as I was at the late duel¹ which, Heaven be praised, had not ended fatally to either party.

I can perfectly understand how much you will have been annoyed at the shameful publications which have lately appeared in the papers. It is a proof of the infamy of the character of those who have brought this forward, and is most cruel to the unfortunate individual whom it concerns.

I suppose that towards the end of the summer or the beginning of autumn we shall go over to England in order that the Duchess may see Cholmondeley House, which I have just purchased, and make the arrangements which are necessary previous to our occupying that house. From all I have heard, I believe that I have made a most excellent purchase, and I in future shall be enabled to go with my family to England whenever it may suit us. . . .

Hanover. April 21st, 1829.—I had yesterday the pleasure of receiving your letter of the 14th, and I seize the earliest opportunity of informing you that the high character you give of Mr. Parkinson makes me accede with pleasure to his request of being appointed my solicitor. . . .

¹ Between the Duke of Wellington and Lord Winchelsea.

I returned on Thursday from Hesse Homburg, where I went the moment I heard of the death of my poor brother-in-law.¹

Thank God, I found poor Eliza in good health, and wonderfully supported under her heavy affliction. She comes to us in about three weeks, and will stay the whole summer with us.

Her plan is to remain at the Palace at Homburg, but to have her own establishment, and with the income she has she will be able to live very comfortably there.

We had hoped to have seen your brother Brook, who had intended coming here to-day, but unfortunately he had been ill, and in consequence he means to go straight to England. I believe by this time he will have left Berlin. . . .

The Duchess desires me to thank you for your message, and we both join in our best regards to Lady Taylor. Believe me, dear Taylor, ever most sincerely,

ADOLPHUS FREDERICK.

MAJOR-GENERAL WOODFORD (*Lieut.-Governor at Corfu*) to SIR H. TAYLOR.

Corfu. April 6th, 1829. †

. . . We have accomplished our voyage by land and sea very successfully, and reached this place on the 4th, altogether very good going considering such heavy baggage from London and Paris. . . .

I suspect Capo D' ² will soon show his claws more than we shall like. I hope the Duke ³ is well, and will not have any more field days. He has had, and will yet have, much to battle through. . . .

The messenger brought us the account of the progress of the Bill ⁴ through the House of Lords, and I hope its future operations will be of great service to the public interests of the country, and will enable us to have both fists ready in case of need. I have no doubt that all the violent animosities will gradually subside. The Duke will deserve the civic crown as well as the military laurel.

I see there is an allusion to the *saints* and *processions*; but the statement about Corfu is not correct; the ceremonial alluded to is at Zante. Here I confess it appears to me a very unnecessary and unpleasant duty imposed upon the troops. The saint, a real mummified object in a glass case, is carried all round the town under a canopy held by the military chiefly—
The Corfu Saint.

¹ The Landgrave of Hesse Homburg, who had married the Princess Elizabeth.

² Capo d'Istria.

³ Wellington.

⁴ The Catholic Bill.

for the Greeks themselves will hardly take the trouble of doing it; and we all walk *bare headed* after this renowned St. *Spiridion*, four days in the year, I think—and on Palm Sunday the procession takes nearly three hours in parading the streets.

I confess I feel very much ashamed of myself when we are thus exhibited; and it is the more provoking, because the chief Greeks themselves are very indifferent and rather irreverent on the occasion. Guards of honour and salvos of artillery are also bestowed on the saint, and it is altogether sad mummery and very disgusting. The day seems past for this sort of thing.

I have no news to send you from hence. Missolonghi and Lepanto still hold out—there has been much agitation in Albania, and the Turks by their slowness and want of plan apparently are giving the Greeks time and opportunity to extend their line of occupation; and they will very soon get the full possession of the supposed frontier which extends from Arta to Volo.

The change of Ambassador to the Porte does not surprise me. Mr. Canning¹ is certainly a clever man; but his procrastination and vacillation are *terrific* for all who have to transact business with him; and he appears to have been always blind to the moral and physical force of the Turks. The Russians by approaching Bourgas will soon bring things to a crisis, and we shall see if the Turks are likely to make a good campaign by their operations in the first instance.

Military matters are very smooth here, the 11th regiment at work in the country making a road to lead to a convalescent hospital, which will be a good thing when established, and may save many from being invalidated eventually. . . .

The new articles of war will do abundance of good; now that you strike at habitual drunkenness you will force commanding officers to carry through the suppression of those habits; and I do not despair of seeing the British army made habitually sober.

Our season now is delightful, and this country in its most beautiful garb. . . .

A. WOODFORD.

“Princess Olive,” as Mrs. Serres describes herself in the following note, had attained some notoriety by claiming to be a daughter of the Duke of Cumberland (King George III.’s brother). There was, however, no truth in her pretensions:—

¹ Stratford Canning, afterwards Lord Stratford de Redcliffe.

MRS. SERRES (*calling herself Princess Olive*) to SIR HERBERT TAYLOR.

2, Park Row. April 17th, 1829.

The Princess Olive takes leave to request the favour of seeing Sir Herbert Taylor. A visit of an hour will enable her to communicate to Sir Herbert some matters that are connected with the vital interests of her late Royal father's family, with the hope that by Sir Herbert's fidelity to the interest of certain branches of the family, the Princess may be relieved from her present adversity through Sir Herbert's representations, etc., etc.

The Princess Olive has ever felt desirous to in no way make public any matter within the compass of her knowledge; but she is so painfully situated that unless she receives some immediate assistance (where her claims rest) she will be under the imperative necessity of laying open her affairs in legal characters, and of stating every matter connected with her late Royal parent's marriage, her own birth, and as to the late Earl of Warwick's and Prince Edward's confidence, guardianship, etc., etc., which will be truly painful, as, however, her enemies may dare to insinuate to the contrary, yet the Princess feels strong in her own honour and integrity; and as long as she had a trinket or any personal property left, she has sacrificed such to support her existence rather than be benefited by any party whatever, and that would be offensive to His Majesty!

Having said this much, Princess Olive will conclude by hoping to see Sir Herbert Taylor, who will be received any day at two o'clock, and without ceremony, if he pays the Princess a visit.

He will observe that no letter reaches the Princess's hand unless directed according to her rank as Princess of Cumberland.

The Princess apologizes for this sadly written letter—having hurt her hand.

If Sir Herbert calls, it may be as well to point out that the Princess's residence is next door to Mr. and Lady Elizabeth Brickington at the top of Mills Buildings.

LORD BLOOMFIELD to SIR H. TAYLOR.

Stockholm. May 22nd, 1829.

. . . I feared the King must have suffered much agitation and excitement during the late discussions;¹ thank God, you speak satisfactorily of his health, and that he has supported the severe conflicts to which he has been exposed, with so much

¹ On the Catholic Bill.

physical strength and mental composure. I rejoice for my part that the question has been brought to a close, and, save a provision for the Catholic clergy, that feeling is full and complete and unmixed with any other.

From my observations whilst in Ireland I am persuaded that the adoption of such a clause would have had incalculable *practical* benefit in the working of the Bill; with this and the disfranchisement of the forty-shilling freeholder I think there would have been few of the most violent opponents who would not have withdrawn their opposition. . . .

We have no news from the Danube; extensive promotions have taken place in the Russian army. Our last Petersburg gazettes are wholly silent on every military subject. I must say that I augur ill of the Turks, who permitted the whole winter to pass away without a single effort to drive the Russians out of Varna, that miserable bicogne, the Turks, too, on their "own dunghill," and the Russians occupying a position than which none could be more perilous.

The Turks are miserably off for field artillery, and the little they have, from mismanagement, they had perhaps better be without. Had they been supported by a few guns, Sisepolis would have certainly been recovered.

We have angry political discussions here, and an opposition becoming at each Diet more formidable.

The King's¹ early life has not much fitted him for a constitutional Government, and I guess it is no very easy matter to keep peace in the Council Chamber. . . .

BLOOMFIELD.

Sir F. Barnard, the King's Librarian, had been for the greater part of his life closely associated with the accumulation and the catalogue of the great library formed by George III., and presented by his successor, George IV., in 1823, to the British Museum.

A gallery for the especial reception of this collection was built by the trustees of the museum in 1828. This gallery is now known as the King's Library.

SIR F. BARNARD to SIR H. TAYLOR.

St. James's. May 27th, 1829.

MY DEAR SIR,

I most earnestly hope that your health improves. I have been unable to go out of my house since I came into it at the commencement of the winter; time, however, has

¹ Better known as Bernadotte, the Crown Prince of Sweden.

been advantageously employed, as I have been occupied every day in bringing my great work to a conclusion, and have now just succeeded in its perfect accomplishment.

I find myself so enfeebled and exhausted as to stand more than ever in need of your friendly assistance and support at a time when I hope to be permitted to lay the produce of upwards of sixty years' labour at His Majesty's feet.

From the time His Majesty was graciously pleased to consign to the public the use of this important library, together with the several great collections connected with it, the expenses have been provided by the Lords of His Majesty's Treasury, and when the whole was removed by their order to the building erected for their reception in the British Museum, the trustees of that establishment gave to those who had been employed under me in the Royal Library similar situations and adequate allowances such as they had been accustomed to receive; and they concluded their Minute upon that occasion with this addition: that confiding that the Lords of His Majesty's Treasury would take into their consideration the long period (upwards of sixty years) of "my valuable services, they feel it due to me not to make any proposition for the continuance of the same."

My occupation herewith ceases, and I have only to communicate that the catalogue has been completed in five folio volumes, and according to His Majesty's command two hundred copies have been printed—all the expenses of the binding of which have been defrayed by the Treasury. One hundred and twenty-five copies have been ordered to be distributed, and seventy-five still remain for His Majesty's future disposal—and so concludes the account of this most valuable library.

It is undoubtedly now placed where it will be most acceptable to public inspection and use, and will afford all the advantages to which such a treasure can be extended; and to so have contributed by long incessant labour to accumulate and establish it, must afford many gratifying reflections. At its termination some hopes of a personal nature cannot be entirely suppressed.

I will venture to expose to you the full extent of them with a view to obtaining your judgment and advice. . . .

I should be most happy if His Majesty would be graciously pleased to suffer me to remain in the apartments which I have occupied during my whole life, where I began and concluded my labours, together with the usual repairs, furniture, and such allowances for coals and candles as have been settled by composition. Such a long residence coeval with my services creates a degree of attachment that enhances the value of the object. . . .

I have the honour to be, etc.,

F. BARNARD.

MAJOR-GENERAL WOODFORD to SIR H. TAYLOR.

Corfu. May 28th, 1829.

. . . I have to thank you for your long letter, and sincerely hope you have got rid of the enemy which ties you by the leg, as well as of your enemy who attacks you with affidavits.¹ . . .

We have nothing more from Greece since the convention of Missolonghi and the arrival of the garrison at Prevesa; the possession of Missolonghi and Lepanto are good for Capo d'Istria, who has now military tenure of all Acarnania.

I feel confident the Russians will fail in means—perhaps in measures.

The Corfu
Saint.

Respecting what you mention about the *Saint*,² I should observe that there is a letter from the Secretary of State directing that no officer shall be forced against his will to carry a lighted taper, or to hold the canopy. One day I remember it rained very hard, and His Excellency and I had hold of the silver sticks of the baldacchino, when we found the four great Greek dignitaries in front of us had given up their sacred charge to four common facchini, and had started.

The walking bareheaded in a General's uniform, full dress too, after a brown mummy for two hours, either in August or January, is no joke. The Saint (Spiridione) is, however, a very curious relic, being very well tanned and preserved, so as to be soft and leathery to the touch, and in some seasons he undergoes a fine perspiration, which is considered *very edifying*. . . .

Army
Orders.

Respecting the new plans, I am of opinion it never would be a good principle to tie up the hands of commanding officers too much, because tho' now and then a man may make a bad use of power, it is to be hoped and expected the generality of commanding officers will be good officers; and there is something in human nature which revolts at being tied down, and the effect would be indifference on the part of many, and want of that interest without which a man never does anything *de bon cœur*; and our regulations are now so defined and so clear that if we Generals do our duty, nothing can go far wrong.

I like the idea of your little books. I had some in the Coldstreams—humbler ones and made on service, and they were useful; upon a better plan they will be very good things.

Believe me, etc., . . .

A. WOODFORD.

¹ Captain Garth.

² The religious ceremony in Corfu, already alluded to in a former letter.

The Dillons of Proudston.

SIR JOHN JOSEPH DILLON to SIR H. TAYLOR.

Paris, 4 Place Vendôme. June 1st, 1829.

MY DEAR SIR,

Allow me to renew an acquaintance now *upwards* of twenty years' standing, in requesting your acceptance of the enclosed paper. It has been printed for some time, but not circulated until now, owing to the Catholic question, and will be acted upon next year.

Allow me to explain the circumstances under which you will observe a change in my designation, and at the same time to request of you a little assistance connected therewith.

We *Dillons* of Proudston are hereditary Knights as well as Barons of the German Empire, and our degree of Knighthood (as you will observe by a note to page 7 of the enclosed and by the text) is of some importance.¹

My uncle, Sir John Talbot Dillon, was always so styled, and held a place under Government with the appellation of Sir John. On his death my father did not choose to continue that appellation, leaving it for myself. . . . Accordingly, since his decease, I have assumed in the enclosed and other publications the appellation of a Knight, and could sustain it in a Court of Law, but am desirous that the matter should be put out of any doubt.

In 1814 I succeeded to estates of considerable value in several counties, amongst others to my place in Wiltshire, Hatch, which I hold as the heir of the Hyde family; *vide* the pedigree.

This estate, with another in Northamptonshire, I retain, but the Talbot estate in Worcestershire I have for the moment lost by a decree of Lord Eldon, but against which I have appealed, and the question will be decided next session.

During several years my health, and the inactivity to which I was doomed by the laws against the Catholics, have induced me to reside constantly on the Continent, where I believe I shall ultimately end my days, having declined the offer of a seat in Parliament.

Disposed, therefore, to withdraw from public life, I am desirous of enjoying such *otium cum dignitate*.

What I desire is very trifling. I am more desirous of boasting favours from my natural Sovereign than those which I derive by birth from others.

¹ The Dillons had also a strong claim to the Great Chamberlainship of all England, through their descent from Aubrey de Vere, who in 1133 received this office for himself and heirs through the favour of King Henry I.

As King of Hanover, his present Majesty might confer upon me a favour of which I should be proud, namely, the Grand Civil Cross of the Guelphic Order.

No person, from your connection with the Royal Family and intimacy with Count Münster,¹ could render me more effectual assistance, and I could almost flatter myself that even His Majesty, from a long personal knowledge of my zeal for his service, and the kind expression he had always condescended to use in my regard, would take a pleasure in meeting any little wish of the kind on my part.

I am preparing to set out for the waters of Plombières, and from thence may possibly make during the autumn a little tour in Germany; but a line addressed to me to my hotel, *Amiens*, will always find me, as a short line on the subject of this letter would greatly oblige me at your earliest convenience.

I have the honour to be, etc., . . .

J. J. DILLON.

Major-General Ponsonby, whose letter follows, had been Governor of Malta since 1826. He was a son of the 3rd Earl of Bessborough, and father of the late Sir Henry Ponsonby, the Private Secretary of Queen Victoria.

MAJOR-GENERAL THE HON. F. PONSONBY to SIR H. TAYLOR.

Malta. June 10th, 1829.

. . . I am rather puzzled with the new military Act. It will diminish the number of regimental courts martial, but render the district or garrison courts necessary, and here they will be attended with expense, as I have not had a single occasion to appoint a judge advocate since I have commanded here.

There are in (I believe) all regiments certain individuals who are constantly getting into scapes. Commanding officers wish to get rid of them. I should be glad to know what line of conduct ought to be pursued respecting such men.

I have no doubt I shall have occasion (perhaps have a dozen cases this year) to order court martial on men for *disgraceful conduct*, having been before convicted of the same crime. The term is rather too general; for drunkenness and all the crimes connected with it, selling necessaries, and many other things, are usually designated under this general term.

I shall of course use my own discretion in ordering these courts martial, but I should feel very much obliged to you if you could find time to give me your opinion on this subject.

I hate and detest corporal punishment; but I cannot

¹ The Hanoverian Minister in London.

understand how discipline is to be maintained without it. The only regiment which I have had under my orders in which corporal punishment was never inflicted (or rather had not been inflicted for two years), was not to be trusted out of a barrack yard, and was decidedly in a worse state of discipline than the other regiments—I am only speaking of the public duties; it became necessary to resort to corporal punishment, and the discipline of the battalion is *now* as good as that of any corps in the service. Surely it is the crime which disgraces a man, and not the punishment.

I am very anxious to diminish this odious punishment to the utmost of my power; and in addition to your excellent circular of the 1st December last, if you privately give me your opinion how this may be done I shall feel very much obliged to you.

There is another point upon which I am anxious for information. It seems ridiculous to ask what is meant by solitary confinement. A regimental court martial can sentence to imprisonment. Must this be in the public gaol, and can a commanding officer under any circumstances direct a man to be shut up alone in a locked-up room or cell exceeding one day or night?

This relates particularly to the commanding officer's power of punishing defaulters without bringing them before a court martial; and I shall be glad if you will mention what description of punishment you think best, and to what extent a commanding officer may go.

My construction of the word "imprisonment" is that the culprit may be confined anywhere, provided it is not solitary confinement. Pray excuse this long letter, and if you are not too much engaged, let me have your valuable advice on the different points that I have alluded to.

Ever yours,
F. PONSONBY.

Russia, Turkey, and Greece.

M.-GENERAL WOODFORD to SIR H. TAYLOR.

Corfu. July 21st, 1829.

. . . It is certainly a great advantage here to have such frequent communications with home; and at this season the arrival of dispatches restores one's energy surprisingly. Our hot weather is beginning, but I do not expect a long summer, and we have had prevalence of north wind which coming direct from the mountains brings us a cool and invigorating atmosphere. . . .

The Russians seem to have embellished their accounts of the fighting with the Vizier. In the Vizier's letter to his son in Albania he lays great stress on their having for the first time met and fought so well in the open plain. I hear it did not make (or was not allowed to make) any sensation at Constantinople. They had not sent any reinforcements up to the 30th.

Several of our officers were present at the grand festival or fast of the Bairam.¹ The Sultan was very civil, and seeing them in the Court sent orders from his throne to have them conducted everywhere and shown everything.

An officer of the 10th, just returned from leave, Captain Power, has traversed Turkey and rode to Vienna; he saw the Turkish troops in the neighbourhood of Adrianople. He describes the cavalry as *most splendid* in every point—the infantry young and short of course, and not well-looking, but firing and levelling admirably in three ranks. He did not see any number together, or any camps of reserve except the Imperial camp, where there were only 10,000 men. I hear various accounts from Constantinople according to the colour of the writers. The relics of the old Embassy denounce everything Turkish, and do not admit that they can make any stand—so we all thought two years ago; and I believe when people are once mystified they never see right again.

The troops are reported to be very enthusiastic; the farmers, etc., anxious for peace, and grumbling like other farmers.

The fleet has acquired some strength—about five sail of the line—and the Captain pacha's ship I heard described as in the highest order and beautifully manned.

They have taken a Russian frigate, and make short cruises without coming to action; I suppose to prepare their sailors *poco a poco* for a day of fight.

I shall be anxious to know how the audience takes place, and how matters turn about Greece. I have no doubt the Greeks themselves will furnish ample excuses and grounds for fresh resolutions. I believe Capo d'Istria will hold high language to the Powers, and do everything he can to thwart and bring odium upon England; meanwhile I shall be much surprised if the Russians do anything effective. With Silistria and the Danube in their rear, Choumla untaken, and even uninvested, and the Balkan in their front; with a sacked country, the heat, the fevers, and the plague to encounter, difficulties are almost insuperable—to say nothing of an active, energetic, enterprising enemy, full of enthusiasm, and getting blooded by degrees.

The Russian horses have suffered very much. I fear the

¹ A Mahometan festival which followed the Ramadan, a month of fasting.

Vizier was so pressed in his retreat that he found it necessary to dispatch his prisoners, upwards of two thousand.

Of the Greek troops I have heard nothing lately, and all seems very quiet in Albania, but as things stand at present I cannot believe the Sultan will give the limits of Arta and Volo, especially as a successful sortie at Athens has cleared Attica. . . .

The new articles are coming into operation, and I am satisfied the power of mulcting the pay and striking off the pension will have the best effects. Fellows have been heard to say: "I have risked floggings and confinement, but I am not such a fool as to risk my pay." Army Orders.

There appears some want of explanation as to the classification of the crimes which *imperatively* require district or garrison courts martial.

Now, in stealing from a comrade or a military officer, I read it that it is *not imperative* to hold the garrison court martial, but that a garrison court martial is open to a commanding officer who has an *old offender* to bring forward. It can scarcely be intended that every man guilty of a petty theft in barracks, or guilty of a greater one for the *first* time, should be positively brought before a garrison court martial; but such is the general opinion on the reading of the article. I should, however, read it otherwise, and it is desirable to have an understanding, but very likely I am wrong in the intention, though I do not think I am wrong in the principle, for it will not answer to have too many garrison courts martial.

The delay attendant on them as constituted at present is one objection. For example, I order a garrison court martial here; the proceedings are sent to Sir Fredrick Adam for approval, and if he is at the extremity of the command (and he is now at Zante) a long delay must ensue.

And I confess it seems rather an anomaly that a general officer should order a court martial which he has not the power of approving.

How is this done in the English and Irish districts? Do all these proceedings come to the Horse Guards in England and to the Commander of the Forces in Ireland? I conceive "drunk on duty under arms" to require imperatively a garrison court martial.

I lately heard of an Orange Lodge in the 11th regiment. It appears to have existed some years, and so secretly that none of the officers or any but the initiated knew it. The good things of this world betrayed it—the roast ducks and geese and turkeys on the 13th drew attention; and Lieut.-Colonel Knightly, like Banquo's ghost, appeared at the feast; there were many other members, about 140, a *few* of some other corps.

Of course we have *quashed* it altogether; the "Circular confidential" of July, 1822, I recollect, and I dare say we shall not hear any more of it, here at least.

I cannot ascertain whether there has been any recent hint to revive it, or whether it was merely the old train.

I have often thought of mentioning to you what an advantage it would be if the Chaplain General were to require his deputies to give, according to the King's regulations, short practical sermons; generally they are too long, often very unintelligible, and quite thrown away upon soldiers.

Our chaplain here is an excellent worthy man, and I wish he gave better sermons, or I should say lectures more adapted to the perceptions of the men; but I have only this fault to find with him, as he is an attentive, good man in all respects; and if you think it worth noticing to the Chaplain General, I should be much obliged to you *not to give me up*.

Yours ever,

A. WOODFORD.

SIR H. TAYLOR'S REPLY.

Horse Guards. August 30th, 1829.

Orange
clubs in
the Army.

. . . I sincerely rejoice that you have discovered the existence of an Orange club in the 11th regiment, and I quite agree with you (as does Lord Hill also) in the propriety and necessity of quashing it, and of discouraging and forbidding and putting down everything of the sort in that corps, or any other.

You may rest assured that you and Adam will be supported in every step you may take with this view.

An Orange club or society is instituted and maintained for no other purpose than to keep up political and religious differences and animosities. It is objectionable in its nature and character from its secrecy, and the oaths administered; and in a military point of view it is quite inconsistent with discipline, and fraught with every kind of danger. Beside this, its establishment in any regiment is decidedly in opposition to His Majesty's Order. It is absurd to endeavour to justify it by reference to the existence of Masonic Lodges and meetings which have never been forbidden or discountenanced, and which are neither political nor religious. . . .

H. TAYLOR.

M.-GENERAL WOODFORD to SIR H. TAYLOR.

Corfu. August 16th, 1829.

The war
between
Russia
and
Turkey.

. . . The last dispatches from Constantinople are of the 8th. The Russians have crossed the Balkan in two points, and the reserve, etc., are still in the North—Choumla masked—the

Vizier in it. It is even said the Cossacks had approached the plain of Adrianople. The Sultan perfectly cool, and apparently determined to stand the hazard of the die. He had sent orders to defend Adrianople to the last, and then to burn it. The levy *en masse* was called out, and the Standard was to be immediately unfurled. I therefore conclude he will not yield to the Russians' terms, and these urgent dispatches will be of *great interest*. I confess I feel much interest for Mahmoud¹ in this deadly struggle.

Reports of successes in Asia for the Russian arms, and some story of a partial revolt at Erzeroum; a little time must now unfold great things.

The plague is raging in the fleet, the Russian fleet, I mean, at Varna, and at other places. This is all I have been able to learn; the dispatches must, however, in every point of view, be very important.

Your nephew is establishing himself, and I shall, I am sure, find him all I wish. . . .

Yours sincerely,
A. WOODFORD.

M.-GENERAL WOODFORD to Sir H. TAYLOR.

Corfu. September 3rd, 1829.

. . . The Russians are now near neighbours to the coast of the Mediterranean; the distance from Adrianople to Enos being a trifle. This will open a wide field for speculation, and unless peace be made, I fear the poor Sultan must go with his capital and his dynasty altogether; but how shall we like to see Russians next-door neighbours to Capo d'Istria, and able to communicate with their Mediterranean fleet?

I have little else to say now; your nephew² was ill for two days, but the sight of the doctor on the second day seemed to finish the case. He seems to like us all, and we like him. I have established him with an Italian master, and I have no doubt he will soon get into a good division of time. . . .

A. WOODFORD.

¹ The Sultan of Turkey.

² Herbert Edward Taylor (85th Regt.), who had recently arrived at Corfu as A.D.C. to General Woodford.

CHAPTER XVI

1829

An Account of an Expedition by Steam-carriage along the high-road to Bath, with a Description of the Machine by Sir J. Willoughby Gordon.

THE account of a journey by steam-carriage in 1829 along the London road to Bath is curious reading in these days. The expedition seems to have been a first trial, and to have been considered a decided success, the maximum rate of progress being about ten miles an hour, with difficulties to contend with as regards getting a sufficient supply of coke and water. The advent of the railway line was, however, near at hand. Sir J. Willoughby Gordon, in his memorandum, gives here a preliminary description of the machine after his inspection.

Memorandum.

The following observations occurred upon an inspection of the steam-carriage of Mr. Gurney at Sir C. Dance's residence, near Watford, July 22nd, 1829 :—

This carriage is not intended for the conveyance of passengers or baggage, but it is intended exclusively as a drag by means of which a carriage with passengers is to be drawn along the road at a rate of from eight to ten miles an hour.

The steam-carriage has four wheels, and contains, besides the engine, a seat for two persons, the one being the engineer, the other the steersman.

The engine is upon the principle of high pressure, and the piston works horizontally under the bed of the carriage. The motion is given by means of a crank attached to the axle of the hind wheel, and is so managed that the power may be communicated to one hind wheel exclusively, or be extended equally to both if required.

The mode of action is therefore thus far different from that which governs an ordinary carriage, as instead of being drawn forwards by power in front, this machine is pushed forward from behind by means of power impressed upon the axle of the

hind wheels. The machine is steered by means of an horizontal wheel fixed in front of the seat, and communicating with the axle of the fore wheels in such manner that the carriage may be directed with greater precision than can any carriage drawn by horses under the direction of a coachman.

The machine can be stopped instantly. The length of the machine is the same as that of a four-wheel carriage without the pole, about ten feet, so that when a carriage with passengers shall be affixed to it, the whole length of the two carriages taken together will not exceed the length of one four-wheel carriage with one pair of horses.

The friction of this upon the road will be that of a carriage with eight wheels, but it is presumed that the number of wheels may be easily reduced to six.

This engine moved upon the turnpike road up a hill of more than ordinary steepness, and round several turnings for at least half an hour, at the rate of from eight to ten miles an hour.

A barouche containing four people (of whom the writer of this article was one) was then attached to it, and was drawn along with great facility upon the same road, and round the same turnings, avoiding the steepness of the hill, at the same rate.

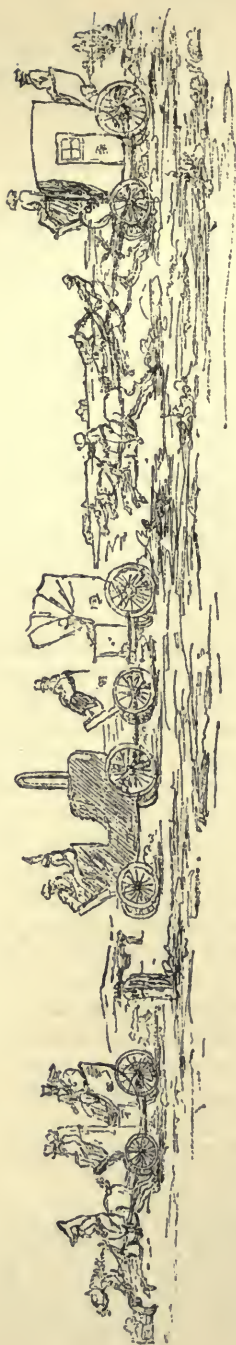
The engine being of high pressure, and therefore expending its speed, necessarily consumes a large quantity of water and of fuel; and this renders a supply of water indispensable at every half-hour, and the supply of coke at every hour, so that depôts of each must be established at proportionate distances of four and eight, or five and ten miles, according to the rate of speed which is determined upon.

The noise of the steam-carriage, with the passenger carriage attached to it, is not so great as the noise of a travelling carriage with two horses. There is very little or no smoke from the burning of the coke. The eight wheels of the two carriages cause less dust than would a carriage with four wheels and two horses.

The danger to be apprehended from an engine upon the principle of high pressure appears to be altogether obviated by the manner in which the boiler is made, not in one capacious cavity, but formed on a series of tubes communicating with each other.

The expense at which this apparatus can be plied upon the road is stated not to amount to threepence per mile.¹

¹ The distance between London and Southampton is about eighty miles, and the inside fare by coach is £1 12s. If it be true that the steam-carriage will work this distance with ease in ten hours at the latest, the cost to the proprietors will be exactly £1. Now, if this machine can convey twenty passengers, and if each passenger should pay only 5s., or about one-fifth of the present sum, there would be a clear profit to the proprietors of 500 per cent.—J.W.G.



Mr. Gurney's Steam Carriage on the High Road between London and Bath, July, 1829.

(From a Pen and Ink Sketch.)

It is evident that before this mode of conveyance can be brought into use for public convenience, depôts of water and coke must be established at fixed stations along the line of road which it is intended to travel, and that its use must be confined to that line and that exclusively. It should seem that each fresh supply of water and coke need not occupy above two minutes of time.

One very serious difficulty will be opposed to the general use of this mode of conveyance, in the danger which will attend its unusual appearance and rapid movements along a public road, in frightening horses, both saddle and draught.

Upon the whole, the impression which this inspection has left upon my mind — and giving due weight to the many difficulties and accidents which must unavoidably attend the introduction and first trial of such a novel and extraordinary vehicle — it certainly appears to me that it will eventually, and at no distant period, force itself into very extensive use; and I do not see any other objections to it than such as may be overcome by time, practice, and ingenuity.

J. W. G.

Horse Guards.
July 23rd, 1829.

Mr. Gurney's Steam Carriage on the Bath Road.

An account given by Lieut.-Colonel Sir Charles Dance, of a trial trip to Bath, most of the way by steam-carriage, starting from Cranford Bridge; and showing how his party was received with hostile greetings at Melksham on the day of the fair.

Reading. July 28th, 1829.
Half-past 8 o'clock a.m.

We left Cranford Bridge at ten minutes past 4 o'clock this morning, a light barouche containing four persons attached to the steamer. We went on rapidly and without the slightest accident or difficulty till we arrived at Longford, where they are rebuilding the bridge over the Coln, about one mile and a half the London side of Colnbrook.

On the bridge was piled a large stack of bricks, so high as to impede the view from the nature of the road which winds up to the top of the bridge. Just as we arrived at this point, a broad-wheeled waggon was approaching the bridge in the same direction as ourselves. In advance of the steamer was our advance phaeton, and behind the steamer a carriage containing our coke, and some of the engineers.

At the moment our leading carriage had passed the waggon, the steamer following close, the mail from Bath appeared on the top of the bridge, coming on rapidly.

We called out to the coachman to pull up, but he, not being aware of the unusual carriage he was about to meet, kept on till we all became entangled, and nearly jammed together. The leaders of the mail being high couraged, and their heads close to the steamer, bolted round and broke the mail traces.

Mr. Gurney, anxious to avoid mischief, forced the steamer up against the stack of bricks, by which he did some injury to the steamer, but of no consequence beyond the delay of a quarter of an hour. The mail put on a new bar and traces, and we both proceeded on our respective journeys.

We have had no other accident whatever, but a fracture of the iron of one of the wheels, and are going forward immediately.

We came from Cranford Bridge to this place in four hours and ten minutes, including all stoppages for water, coke, turn-pikes, etc., which of course in our first attempt cannot be expected to be managed with the celerity we may calculate upon hereafter.

We met and passed on the road between Cranford Bridge and this place, 21 carts, 7 waggons, 2 post-chaises, 4 mail-coaches, 7 stage-coaches, 1 dray with 2 horses, a drove of cart-horses, 3 gigs and 6 horses—of which I can assure you not one started, or was by any means disturbed by the steamer, except the mail horses on the bridge at Longford.

If it should be said that we endangered the mail, I beg to assure you that I have strictly represented the facts, and I am convinced that a carriage with horses on such circumstances might have occasioned an equal, if not much more serious, mischief. The regular easy pace seems about ten miles an hour whilst moving.

July 30th, 1829.—On our arrival at Reading at twenty minutes past 8 o'clock on the 28th, we were detained two hours to have the iron which had been broken off the wheel repaired. To avoid the town, the steamer went on to a public house about a mile on the road, whilst we waited for the iron.

On our overtaking Mr. Gurney he had discovered that two small chains which were used for the expansive motion were broken. We must attribute the fracture of the iron, as well as of these chains, to the violent shock the carriage sustained against the stack of bricks in avoiding the mail on Longford Bridge.

We started again at half-past 10 o'clock from the public house beyond Reading. We went on steadily from this time, all the way to Melksham (about twelve miles this side of Bath), where we arrived about 8 o'clock in the evening, without any material alteration of pace, at the rate of about six miles an hour, including stoppages. It must be observed that our grand object was to accomplish our journey without accident to ourselves or to any passengers. We therefore were resolved to avoid all possibility of danger to any part of the steamer by always having plenty of water. We therefore made it a rule never to go above four miles without taking in water.

In order to accomplish this, we stopped whenever we saw water near the road (though frequently at two or three miles only, and although we were by no means in want of it) lest we might not find it again in time.

There were altogether about eight gentlemen, and as many engineers and attendants. When we wanted water, we formed a lane (as at a fire), in some instances getting over the hedge to a pond in a field, and handing buckets from one to another till the tank was full. We carry three buckets always with us.

We were disappointed in not finding coke where we wanted it, and were obliged to go out of the road *with the carriage in attendance*, to fetch coal from a wharf near the forty-eighth milestone.

No smoke whatever was visible whilst burning coke, but as soon as we used coal (which made an excellent fire) the smoke became visible, and would most certainly be objectionable on a public road; but when we got coke at Newbury, no more smoke was visible till we got to Devizes. The coke we took

in at Devizes was so bad that we could not get it to burn, but were again obliged to have recourse to coal.

After this, the smoke appeared again, and in Melksham—it beginning to grow darker—some sparks flew up the chimney, which made the appearance of a beautiful firework. This would be highly objectionable and dangerous to thatch or hay stacks, but it can never happen with coke.

The first five miles from Cranford Bridge to Colnbrook (exclusive of fifteen minutes lost by our meeting the mail) we did, including three minutes taking in water at a pump, in twenty-five minutes; we therefore travelled five miles in twenty-two minutes.

At our quickest pace, the post horses were kept in a gallop, and when they stopped were in a *white lather*.

The light phaeton could keep up very well, but the post carriage was so heavy that the post boys said no pair of horses could keep up; and we were obliged to take four all the rest of the journey for the post carriage in the rear.

I was apprehensive the smoke would frighten horses, but with the exception of one little spirited mare in a gig near Melksham, and the mail horses at Longford, I really did not see any absolute start.

On the whole I should say, as an old cavalry officer, that I never saw so little notice paid by horses to common stages as they showed to the steamer.

When we were going the first five miles nothing could be easier or more free from noise or any sort of objectionable inconvenience—and the movement so easy that there was nothing to alarm anybody. Nothing like the appearance of danger in a four-horse coach going the same pace.

We got coke for 2*d.* per bushel at the retail price; we burned very little more than half a bushel a mile, and should certainly never exceed half a bushel when all is perfect. The expense, therefore, of a hundred miles is only 8*s.* 4*d.*, exclusive of the wages of the engineers.

I consider this first experiment decisive of success.

On our arrival at Melksham there was a fair in the town, and the streets full of people. Mr. Gurney, who unites with extraordinary talent and great perseverance the most amiable qualities of mind and temper, fearing to injure any person, moved as slowly as possible. Unfortunately from some cause or other the people here had taken a dislike to the steam-carriage, and after abusing us shamefully, attacked us with stones and flints, and after having wounded the stoker and another engineer severely on their heads (the former being knocked out of the carriage into the road) a violent scuffle took place between us.

Mr. Gurney not thinking it advisable to proceed when two

of his best men required surgical assistance, we secured the carriage in the yard of a Mr. Iles (a brewer), and having obtained the magistrate's assistance, placed constables over it during the night, and it was removed yesterday to Bath under their escort.

Writs are out against two of the ringleaders, and, if taken and identified, it is Mr. Gurney's intention to appear against them next week at the Assizes at Salisbury.

C. W. DANCE,
Lieut.-Colonel, H.P.

CHAPTER XVII

1829

Letters : Sir J. Ker Porter—Lieut.-General Sir R. S—e—Lieut.-Colonel FitzClarence (describing the Artillery in France); Sir A. Dickson's reply—The Duke of Cumberland—Mrs. Lloyd—Captain J. Burke—Colonel Sir W. P. Carrol—Mr. Charles Greenwood—Lieut.-Colonel FitzClarence (the Cavalry in France); Sir R. Hussey Vivian's reply—Sir H. Taylor.

SIR R. KER PORTER, whose letters appear in Chapters XIII. and XIV., paid a flying visit to England this year. He returned soon afterwards to his post at Venezuela, which he retained till 1841. I find this reference :—

London. August 17th, 1829.

I did myself the pleasure of calling at the Horse Guards a short time after my arrival in England from Caracas, but unfortunately you were not in town. I have just heard that you hold a levee to-morrow, and as I only wish to shake you by the hand on my return to Europe, if you will give me five minutes of your invaluable time I shall feel gratified indeed, therefore shall call at the Adjutant-General's office at 1 o'clock, when probably you may be able to receive me, or leave word what day next week I could pay my respects to you—being obliged to return to Esher at 3 o'clock to-morrow. . . .

ROBERT KER PORTER.

The following curious request for favours is a specimen of many others Sir Herbert was in the habit of receiving during his tenure at the Horse Guards.

LIEUT.-GENERAL SIR R. S—E to SIR H. TAYLOR.

Edinburgh. August 28th, 1829.

. . . And now, my dear Sir, a word for myself—what are you doing to fill up the vacancies caused by a recent death in this quarter? Am I again to be disregarded, urgent as is my

need, my twofold need for a mark of Royal favour? Our gracious King, God bless him, is not in the habit of conferring kindness or doing good by halves, and were he to order an iron pot to be given to a person in need, would he not add meat, and fire to make the pot boil? That he *would* is my firm belief, therefore I still cherish hope. It must not be said that "they order these things better in France." When one of its Kings was asked by an old General for a regiment, His Majesty told him he would think of it. "Ah, Sire," replied the veteran, raising his wig to show his white hairs, "your Majesty may see that there is no time to spare for thinking of it." His suit was instantly granted.

I am ever, my dear Sir Herbert, with high regard,

Most truly yours,

R. S—E.

Lieut.-Colonel FitzClarence was the eldest son of the Duke of Clarence, and had served a considerable portion of his career in the cavalry. Later on he was in the Coldstreams from 1825 to 1828, when he retired with the rank of Lieut.-Colonel. He held various appointments, and travelled a great deal. In 1830 he was created Earl of Munster, when his younger brothers received the rank of Sons of Marquises.

French Arsenals and Artillery.

LIEUT.-COLONEL FITZCLARENCE to SIR H. TAYLOR.

Baden. September 6th, 1829.

MY DEAR SIR HERBERT,

You wished to hear occasionally from me during my travels, and as my pursuits are purely military, I cannot do better than consolidate my researches and reflections in writing you an account of what I see and observe.

I put off—rather unlike myself—delivering my letter to the general officer commanding at St. Omer, hoping that I should have found General Velatte at Nancy, but unluckily he was absent on a tour of inspection, and General Bruno could not, without his order, assemble the garrison after the season of leave had commenced.

However, General Bruno, who is of a Scotch family, and, he says, connected through Lady Anne Smith's husband with the Duke of Wellington, was most kind and civil, and ordered out the first regiment of Carabineers for my *amusement*; but as I shall have a great deal to tell you about the French cavalry I shall not mention this corps, until I speak of all

that befell me after, at Luneville—particularly as I have much to write respecting their arsenals and artillery.

It appears I was fortunate in having letters to Metz, as it is an interesting place for several reasons, being their principal *dépôt* on the frontier opposite Luxembourg, and besides having a large arsenal, being the seat of their artillery school. Thus I have had not only a sight of this arsenal, but since, of that of Strasburg, which is their great north-eastern military station. At both places my request to see the arsenal was instantly acceded to, as they said we were for the future as likely to be good friends as near neighbours, and nothing whatever was hid from me. In short, since my arrival I have not seen a symptom of jealousy except on the *supposed* interference of the Duke of Wellington in the late change of Government. The officer who was appointed to conduct me over the arsenal at Metz was most intelligent and full of information, and as we were alone together, we were better able to converse with ease than afterwards at Strasburg, where I had to do with several officers high in rank.

They have at Metz, in the arsenal, a very fine *salle d'armes* containing 45,000 stand of muskets (besides cavalry equipment) all in the highest order, and a like number in the citadel, which I had not time to see.

At Strasburg they have two more similar stores, each containing 50,000 muskets and sabres and pistols for a large corps of cavalry. They give out that they have arms and material in these two places for 250,000 men—and I think not exaggerated as far as artillery and arms, but I saw no cuirasses or accoutrements. Their muskets are unaltered, but since the last war they have considerably lengthened their light cavalry sabres, and rather curved those of the heavy horse.

There appears great activity in the two arsenals, but I attribute this principally, if not entirely, to the total *change* they are making in their gun-carriages and tumbrils.

After a discussion which has lasted ever since the peace, Artillery details. three years ago, they allowed the superiority of our gun-carriages and limbers by ordering their introduction into their service; and they have in consequence been busily employed in changing the whole material of this part of their artillery. Though they all now fully admit that *two* men can bring one of our guns into action where *four* could not use their unwieldy carriage, there is still a prejudiced party against their introduction; while a large party flatter themselves they have improved on our system.

They have left two openings on each side between the side pieces on which the trunnions rest and the under part of the carriage, so that no water can lodge. They have but *one* chest

on the limber instead of *two*, which allows them to carry fifteen rounds more ammunition than ourselves.

The workmanship of all these carriages is excellent, and the best materials are used; and by this winter they will have a hundred field batteries ready for service. They have made three hundred four-wheeled carriages each year, for the three last, at Strasburg.

But no nation understands horses and carriages so well as we ourselves, and one of their fancied improvements is to do away with the *shafts* to the limber, and have in its place a *pole*. This is probably on account of their horses being less strong than ours, and the difficulty of finding them sufficiently powerful to support the weight. That this is the real cause is proved by all their anxiety and expedients being directed to divide the weight between the two wheel horses; and they have invented an iron bar something on the principle of our curricula bars, only that it is *suspended* from the collars and not resting on the back; this has also some ingenious mode of shifting and turning to relieve the horses when not on the same level, but, after all, only amount to bad alternatives.

They have also tried by all kinds of means to make an equilibrium for the fore and hind part of the limber when separate from the gun, by movable weights, not ill conceived, but the shaft would obviate all these difficulties at once, and I have seen some fine horses equal to anything in the north of their country. They have also altered all the carriages of their battering and defensive trains to our model.

It is their intention to confine themselves entirely to 8's and 12's in the field; and at present have ordered no Howitzers to be used—the Russian elongated Howitzer has lost most of its friends. They intend to have nothing on the walls of their places but brass guns, of which an immense quantity are casting at their (only) three founderies, Douai, Strasburg, and Moulouse. They receive their brass principally from Russia and Hungary, and it only costs them three francs per lb. Their modern guns are less ornamented than formerly, but are still beautiful. Iron guns are now only intended for the Navy and coasts.

An order arrived while I was at Strasburg, expected for some time, for a total change in the whole organization of their artillery. I doubt if the system will answer, as, instead of their three regiments of horse and eight of foot artillery, they are to be in *ten legions*; yet not to be distinct, but the whole to be drilled and prepared to serve as flying or foot artillery—and all in the same manner. They are to be divided into three batteries of *horse* and six companies of *foot* artillery (the men of the last to be carried on the ammunition waggons like ours, and all the officers and non-commissioned officers mounted),

and seven batteries to be in reserve, and in the fortified places.

They pay great attention to their artillery, and are constantly at practice, and use their men to fire and judge distances at night, not only in the dark, but at the different periods of the moon. If this was attempted at Woolwich we should have General McLeod and Lord Beresford, *to boot*, indicted for nuisances by the somniferous inhabitants of the neighbourhood! Congreve's rockets have lately been their study, and they talk of wonderful improvements. They have, however, reduced the staff to *four feet* long. They have not applied shot or shell to these ends as we have.

I found them busily engaged in all the works of a siege against the walls of Metz itself, having, with large working parties, opened a regular sap, which was approaching in due form the crest of the glacis. I thought myself in front of Badajos in the trenches surrounded by gabions and fascines. The walls were occupied, and the works in defence firing blank cartridge.

Why should not a similar amusement be ordered for the troops at Portsmouth and Chatham?

Nothing was hidden from me, and I went over their *école d'application d'artillerie et du genie*.

It is under the orders of General Sabatier, who commanded the engineers in Berg-op-zoom. Here, after two years' study in the *école polytechnique*, the young officers intended for the engineers and artillery come for a light period of further instruction; about seventy are thus transferred annually, the whole number at Metz being 140—the best are chosen for the engineers. It is our Woolwich, but unites the civil and military branches of engineering. They are also taught chemistry as far as connected with their profession, etc. To make it complete, they talk of removing the foundery from Strasburg to Metz, in order that they may have this art equally under their observation. Their model room is very perfect, and contains some curious pieces of mechanism. They have a model, likely to answer for heating red-hot shot, of simple construction. Since the Duc d'Angoulême has become head of the Marine, seven or eight of the young men from this school have been taken yearly for the Marine, and their use has been so great that it is likely a larger portion will be thus employed.

I learned that they had abolished their Marine Corps and intend to drill (like the Russians) their sailors both as soldiers and mariners. It is astonishing to what an extent they carry the system of their higher duties. I find that their *état major* is a distinct corps, being the chosen from the vast school (1400) at St. Cyr. After a good education there they are sent for two years to serve in the infantry; after the like period in

the cavalry; and subsequently two years in both the artillery and engineers; and are then appointed to the *état major*. Thus they understand the use of each arm. They furnish all the Aides-de-camp; though on active service the Generals are allowed another from the regiments of the line.

The
hospital
at Metz.

The great hospital at Metz is magnificent, containing three hundred beds—all, by the by, of iron. I did not give the French credit for such good arrangement as I found here. It put me in mind of Haslar in its cleanliness and good order. It has a laboratory for preparing medicines, and a school of medicine attached to it.

My paper is out before I have reached the account of their cavalry—if this does not bore you perhaps it may fill another letter.

Yours truly,
G. F. C.

(Referring to the above.)

SIR A. DICKSON¹ to SIR H. TAYLOR.

Woolwich. October 5th, 1829.

. . . I beg to return Colonel FitzClarence's letter with many thanks to you and Lord Hill. . . . I have made such extracts as are necessary for information, for tho' we have perfect knowledge of the alterations in the French artillery, still details of progress are always interesting, and Colonel FitzClarence has turned his attention to the points most essential.

It is not a little gratifying that the French have adopted our system of carriages (shafts excepted), which proves the good principle we have gone on; and by the new organization of the French artillery I find they have abolished their corps of *Conducteurs* or artillery drivers, and have determined that the duty of artilleryman and driver shall be united in the same soldier, as we have done according to the plan laid down by the Duke of Wellington, which I am fully satisfied will succeed, and be of the utmost economy in future wars.

I remain, most truly yours,
A. DICKSON.

THE DUKE OF CUMBERLAND to SIR H. TAYLOR.

St. James's Palace. September 13th, 1829.
Sunday Afternoon.

DEAR TAYLOR,

I send you the three exercise bye-laws of the Prussians' cavalry, infantry, and artillery, which when you

¹ Inspector of Artillery, and of the Royal brass foundery at Woolwich.

have done with, I shall beg you to return to me. I was sorry not to have seen your brother Brook this morning when he called here, but was glad to learn from the Duchess that he looked so well. Perhaps it might suit you and Lady Taylor to dine here on Tuesday next and bring Brook with you—our hour is seven. The Esterhazys and Bülow dine also here.

I have sent this morning to the King the draft of the order for the Household Brigade. The letter to Lord Hill is perfectly approved of.

Yours very sincerely,
ERNEST.

A Quaint Letter.

MRS. LLOYD to SIR HERBERT TAYLOR.

64, St. Paul's Churchyard. October 23rd, 1829.

SIR HERBERT TAYLOR,

Forgive the liberty of again writing about the books left for H.R.H. the Duke of York.

His spirit seems to tell me to persevere, and ask once more for the sum of fourteen shillings—the value of the books. Not having the power to print a new work, I must of necessity seek the payment of the old one.

If His Royal Highness's ghost were to haunt the Horse Guards—as I do—after that small sum, how terrified you all would be; although the troops would be in rapture at sight of their Royal Commander; and the horses would neigh their heads and scrape their feet in humble respect to the Royal Ghost, as I should do if I could lay hold of a few pounds to discharge a few debts contracted for existence, and thirty-nine shillings for lodgings—the number of articles in the Christian faith; and some are so strongly impressed on my mind that to be just is as great a difficulty as fighting an enemy in battle—and I have many enemies, both ghostly and bodily; the bodily ones are mice which beset my room and march around me with all the intrepidity of undaunted vermin.

The Duke of Wellington is making strange alterations! It would be well if His Grace were to look into the dwellings of the poor, and take off the assess taxes; then a decent habitation might be the portion of the industrious class of the community as well as—myself; and the rich householder would be made to let his tenements in a fit repair, or have them empty—to loss of gain.

Excuse, Sir Herbert, this digression, but a hint to His Grace from you might render a lasting benefit to Society,

and my distress might be the happy means to bring such an improvement to bear.

I believe, Sir Herbert, you are true-born English; then let not the English flag droop in an Englishwoman's cause; never let it be said that mice undermined her constitution for the want of a few pounds to pay her rent.

The sum, Sir Herbert, will purchase me a pair of new boots, for I have worn out a pair in walking after such a little debt—and the other trifle will buy me a sack of coals. Naming such useful articles as *shoes* and *coals* this inclement season will at once, I hope, secure me the payment for which, believe me, Sir Herbert, to be,

Your most respectful and grateful humble servant,
MARY ANN LLOYD.

CAPTAIN J. BURKE to SIR H. TAYLOR.

Grove Lodge, Bracknell, Berks. November 6th, 1829.

SIR,

I fear the request I am about to make to you may appear indiscreet and somewhat singular, but I rely on your indulgence and the kind manner in which you have invariably acted towards me in my profession. The fact is simply this. I am become the father of a son who, if he live, will naturally follow the same profession which I have followed myself, and I am anxious that he should bear a name which will associate him the most honourably in his own mind, and in the minds of others with the British army. My request is that you will honour me with your permission that you should be represented by my brother, a physician, or some friend, at the baptism of my child, and that he should receive your name.

Your generous disposition will, I hope, attribute the great liberty I have taken with you to nothing else than to that parental feeling which would make an honest man do anything, not inconsistent with honour and honesty, to promote the future prospects of his babe.

I have the honour to remain, etc.,
J. S. BURKE.

Russia, Turkey, and Greece.

COLONEL SIR P. CARROL to SIR H. TAYLOR.

Corfu. November 17th, 1829.

. . . I am gratified by the receipt of your kind letter of September 13th—doubly kind from a person occupied as you

are with most important affairs. I am a very idle man, and feel it a pleasure, and in truth a duty, to communicate to you in a friendly unceremonious manner the events and passing occurrences of the part of the world in which I am stationed, without by any means expecting that you should reply to my letters—unless occasionally by a line or two pointing out any way in which you might feel it necessary to direct my services in this quarter.

It is very gratifying to me to find that you approve of my having remained at my post. Our attention for many months was intensely fixed on the movements of the Turkish and Russian armies; and as the latter advanced, each regiment here fancied that it was to be amongst the number of the *élite*, and in *idea* we had embarked on board men of war, passed the Dardanelles, landed at Borgas, and driven the Russians across the Balkans. However, the fatal treaty destroyed all our air-built castles, and we have the mortification to find our faithful and cheap ally so promptly humiliated, and the right of the position of the civilized powers of Europe, as opposed to Russia, outflanked and nearly turned.¹

The treaty
of Adria-
nople.

Greece, after her ill-combined and ill-directed struggle for liberty, has, thanks to the battle of Navarino, changed masters, and her fetters will now be forged in Petersburg in place of Byzantium. Capo d'Istria may for a time cover them with wreaths of flowers, but it will be a very long time before Utopian visions of constitution and liberty entertained by the phil-hellenists shall be realized. It is to be feared that before the Grecians possess the free and happy constitution anticipated by the inhabitants of the Peloponnesus, they will probably behold a body of Cossacks bivouacking amidst the ruins of Athens, as the advance guard of the hordes progressing along the Isthmus.

Capo d'Istria² has long since thrown off the mask. He follows the plan of his friend Pozzo di Borgo—he has sent a number of Grecian youths with an allowance to study at different colleges on the Continent, and to learn the Russian language. These *élèves* are dubbed Counts and Marquises at the Universities of Padua and Pisa, and develop the ulterior views and policy of their master. The Emperor of Russia's intentions may be ever so unambitious, and he may be sincere in his declaration of not wishing to extend his territory, but

¹ The treaty of Adrianople between Russia and Turkey in September, 1829, was not looked upon with favour in England. It gave Russia the protectorate of the Danubian Principalities, and an indemnity, to be fixed by future agreement, whereby she had considerable power in enforcing her influence at Constantinople.

² Capo d'Istria was supposed to be playing into the hands of Russia—or at any rate to have strong Russian leanings. He had been President of Greece since the battle of Navarino.

once the swarm moves from the hive it will be difficult to prevent its proceeding to a warmer climate. If his empire be once put in motion, wave will push on wave, horde will follow horde, and it will be impossible to prevent their forcing their way to bask in the sunshine and enjoy the luxuries of a southern climate. The army of Bears, who have already discovered and tasted the honey in warm latitudes, and who, during a ten years' intercourse and occupation of Turkey, will lose nothing of their fondness for the sweets of that climate, will at a future period forcibly rush on towards Mount Hymettus.

Would it not be desirable that the civilized powers of Europe should meet and oppose *in limine* these menaced disasters, and say to Russia, "Thus far shalt thou go and no farther," and that England, France, and Austria would settle the debt for Turkey with Russia, making a considerable reduction for prompt payment, and place the Russians behind the Pruth; the Sublime Porte guaranteeing by instalments the reimbursement of the money advanced by the Allied Powers? And assuredly English, French, and German will make just as mild Custom House officers and distributors of justice as any Russian gentlemen that might be selected from the banks of the Volga.

The accounts I receive of my boys' progress and education in every way is most gratifying. I have just received specimens of their drawings, which are very good. It is now upward of four years since I have seen them, and I am very anxious to remove them to a higher school and determine as to their future pursuits in life. . . .

Never can I forget the kind, amiable manner in which that best of men, his Royal Highness the late Duke of York, spoke to me about my boys at 5 o'clock on the evening of the 17th or 19th of November, 1825, with that truly amiable, unostentatious manner which characterized all his intercourse with officers. I took my leave of the Duke unable to express the happiness and gratitude I felt at his kindness, and set out in two hours after for Dover on my way to join my regiment here.

I have been much indisposed for the last ten weeks. . . . Thanks to a strong Irish constitution and quantities of sulphate of quinine pills, I have been free from fever for the last ten days. . . . Had I not got better I should have gone in the steam vessel to Ancona, but I feel happier amongst my own officers than among strangers in Italy, for as Buonaparte said on joining his army: "Où peut-on être mieux qu'en sein de sa famille!" My officers now come and sit with me, and I am able to walk out on the batteries, and hope ere long to be myself again.

I hope my regiment, which has been detached since June

last in the southern regions, leaving me a perfect idler—a state of all others that least agrees with me—will be united by the end of the year. . . .

I shall accept with great pleasure your friendly invitation to visit your beautiful Sabine villa in the Regent's Park, the beauty of which I have heard Mrs. Woodford speak much.

I sent home some planks of olive wood four feet long and three inches thick to make frames for mouldings for some of my marble tables—and think the wood will take a fine polish. If you should wish for some of the same dimensions, I can send you any you require—having the wood cut up and lying by.

Believe me, very faithfully yours,
WILLIAM PARKER CARROL.

The following notice from Mr. Greenwood, the banker and Army Agent, refers to Captain Garth, whose assertions concerning his birth caused a good deal of gossip at the time, and afterwards.

MR. CHARLES GREENWOOD *to* SIR HERBERT TAYLOR.

Craigs Court. November 18th, 1829.

MY DEAR TAYLOR,

The name of Garth must be hateful to you, and I know not whether the event which I have to communicate to you will be productive of relief to you or of more trouble—I should fear the latter.

General Garth died last night in his son's house in Grosvenor Place, and expired in his son's arms. He was perfectly aware that he was dying, and embraced his son with the greatest tenderness—told him that he had left him all that he had, and was very sorry that it was no more. This intelligence comes to me from a person who was present at this scene; but nothing seems to have been said relating to the Captain's particular situation—at any rate I have stated all that has been told to me.

I have seen Lords Hill and Fitzroy Somerset, and have acquainted them with the event—but no one else.

Ever, my dear Taylor, truly and affectionately yours,

CHARLES GREENWOOD.

P.S.—This event will, I conclude, be the means of a summons to you, and I shall soon see you in town.

French Cavalry at Luneville.

COLONEL FITZCLARENCE to SIR H. TAYLOR.

Rome. November 25th, 1829.

DEAR SIR HERBERT,

Since my dispatch from Baden I literally have not had time to fulfil my promise respecting Luneville, but Italy has offered so much that I was forced to give up every moment to visiting all that came in my way, and the "Eternal City" has, since we reached it, demanded *imperiously* all our attention.

I had ever intended to visit the French camp, or rather cantonment, as the troops are in barracks in Lorraine, for I have *still* a slight hankering after the *Arm* in which I have so long served.

This autumn offered a famous opportunity, and having procured letters from De G—— to Generals Mermet and Vincent, I looked forward to my visit with great satisfaction. Both these officers are of the *Ancienne Armée*, and the former an old acquaintance, being opposed to us at Oporto and elsewhere in Spain, while the latter was ever in the Imperial Guard and accompanied *La Grande Armée*.

These camps were first formed six years since, and are in activity from the middle of June to the middle of October, when the regiments which are taken from the neighbouring garrisons return to their permanent cantonments. The regiments and the whole staff are changed every two years.

I arrived on Saturday night, and on the following morning waited on the General to present my letters. He received me with the most friendly, good-humoured manner, and regretted the badness of the weather, as he supposed I was anxious to see the two divisions in the field; but a ray of sunshine at the moment gave him some hope, and he at once went to his table and dictated an order for the whole nine regiments to be on horseback in two hours after Mass. I thought this rather too much attention to a Lieut.-Colonel, but I had no idea that they had so much to show, or with such good reason to be proud of.

In the mean time they proposed to me to go to Mass in the chapel of the old Chateau of the Dukes of Lorraine. This, tho' a fine sight, is considered very inferior to the usual service in front of the Garden Terrace of the Palace, when the whole corps hear Mass on *horseback*. In the chapel all the officers and detachments from each regiment attended. It was rather a military than an ecclesiastical spectacle; and there was far more drumming and trumpeting and presenting arms, etc., than praying.

The whole town was in a bustle immediately after, and as soon as the troops were formed I accompanied the General and his staff to the ground, which is bad and narrow.

We found the two divisions of cavalry drawn up in four lines, a brigade in each, the front of light cavalry of three regiments of Hussars, and the second of Chasseurs supported by one of Dragoons and one of Cuirassiers. They had about 2500 men in the field, being twenty-four squadrons of fifty file each. Their appearance surprised me; but we should recollect that they are all *front rank* horses, only half of each regiment being brought from their cantonments. They are, however, much better, *far* better, mounted than in the late war, and greatly superior to the Prussian or Austrian light cavalry. The Cuirassiers looked remarkably well, and they never exercise without their armour; nor do the infantry without their knapsacks.

I think it a pity we do not in our service accustom our men to their appointments. I remember, when at Manchester in 1825, the Coldstreams could scarce move, encumbered with their knapsacks, from want of use. But the Cuirassiers, however fine, are greatly inferior to their two regiments of Carabineers I saw on my road, and which are considered the best cavalry of France. So much better are their Cuirassiers and Dragoons mounted that I think them quite equal to coping *for a time* with our heavy Dragoons, though the superior strength of our horses would, in a long day, wear them out. The Field Day was particularly interesting, as their movements are *now* (since the late change) *our own*, and the whole upon a scale I am not likely to see in England. . . .

I find De Ros was once here, and he could not have come to a better school. Why should we not extend this to others, and, at the expense of our neighbours, teach our cavalry officers their *metier* in Lorraine? I think two officers of each of our regiments should be *invited* to take leave of absence to attend these camps (under proper understanding), and it would do them more good than several years on Hounslow Heath.

They most liberally showed me the whole interior economy of their system, which I must own surprised me. I think their minute attention certainly exceeds that in our service. The whole is formed on a scale of responsibility, not only as to the discipline and organization, but even in *instruction*. Every *sous officier* is as answerable that the men in his squad know all the details of their duty and exercise as for their good conduct. Not that they have much to do, except in the absence of the subaltern officers, as these last are expected to fulfil the duties which we only expect from non-commissioned officers. Each of the four *pelotons* of the squadron is commanded by an officer who is responsible for the thirty men and horses of which it consists. They have their instructions on foot, as well as on horseback. . . . Besides acting to them as drill and riding masters they become their quarter-master, standing between them and the

administration of the regiment in the expense and choice of their equipment.

They are also their paymasters, and have a regular debtor and creditor account of the state of their finances, and pay them themselves. Each soldier has a little book containing his own accounts, copied from the officer's ledger, and, besides these, there are the regimental records, so that the whole of the accounts are in *triplicate*. All duties are not only well understood, but capable of being defined; and in all the barrack rooms are suspended the directions for non-commissioned officers and soldiers, and from being learned by heart the soldier is able to answer instantly what are his duties under every possible circumstance, and stand a strict examination.

Simplicity
of penal
code.

What pleased me most is the simplicity of their penal military code, or rather its mode of promulgation. A single cartoon, hanging in every room, contains the offences against order and discipline, with the punishment written opposite them, so that the soldier can as well award his own *amende* for crime as his N.C. officer. Their object appears to be to treat their soldiers more like reasoning creatures than they do their citizens, as, though opinion is free in France, Buonaparte's despotism constantly shows itself, and the population are *commanded* by the *Préfets*, etc., while the "orders and regulations" treat the *militaire* as though he joins in his own rules, and in the support of the discipline and character of his regiment.

A roster of duties is also hung up in the rooms, so that no injustice can take place; and the expenses of the mess is in a like manner open to every one's inspection.

Each soldier receives forty francs on joining the regiment, which is expended in his *fit-out*, rendering him answerable for the future in keeping up the stock of necessaries, which are less than in our service. Their pay (which increases after eight years' service) consists of about forty-eight sous per day, of which thirty are expended on his food, ten retained for keeping up his necessaries, and the rest goes into his own pocket. They are allowed 2 lbs. of bread, but find their own meat. The barrack rooms were clean and in good order, and each soldier has a small *iron* bedstead with a straw and hair mattress, and a dark coverlet. The stables are well arranged and littered, but having an idea that the air of the stables corrodes the leather, the horse appointments are placed in the saddle-room apart. The corn is kept in large bins under the lock and key of the orderly officer, who himself sees the horses fed. The ration is, in the light cavalry, but 7 lbs. of corn per day, but the *grosse cavalerie* have more. They appear to groom their horses far better than formerly, and their condition was *excellent*, far superior to ours, which appear only ready to be sent to a Tartar carrion market

as prize beasts! They attend much to the riding school, of which there is a very fine one at Luneville, and the system of equitation for the whole army is taught at Saumur, where there is an establishment like ours at St. John's Wood.

The corps is out during their cantonment at Luneville four times a week, and twice on foot; the seventh day is passed in the riding school, so that they make the most of their four months, and are so hard worked that a pint of wine is obliged to be delivered in addition to their usual ration.

Their exercising ground is very bad. At first, when the harvest was off the ground, they used to traverse the whole country, but the farmers soon put a stop to these roamings, and now they are confined to a narrow piece crossed with deep furrows, and even swamps and ditches. I was surprised to observe how well the horses kept their legs, proving them active and well in hand.

The whole spectacle in the field was superb, and what I would not have missed for the world. In order to prove that *one* system exists throughout their service they mix the squadrons of different regiments, which I think, now that we have *remodelled* our movements, might be ordered in our service, and occasionally acted upon, which would have the effect of being a check on commanding officers of regiments and prevent *their own* improvements.

They certainly moved very well, and I watched their system and found it worked well, but I think we should not give up the *threes* entirely. They evidently required it in retiring in line.

Through your attention I met the greatest kindness at Milan from Walmoden, who had the five battalions in the city out on the *Champ de Mars*. They looked magnificent and moved very quickly, and why they were not equal to the French, I cannot decide. Their movements were particularly interesting, as they act on the principle of being ever before cavalry as well as infantry, and are as prepared against one as the other. I was much struck with the manner they supported and secured the flanks of their lines of infantry.

The
Italian
cavalry
at Milan.

By all accounts there never was anything so bad as their system, and so unjustly are the men treated, that to keep in decent appearance the men's uniforms and appointments the commanding officer is obliged to expend a large portion of his *own pay*. They have clothing but once in three years.

I shall be glad to hear from you respecting coming events in the spring. Can I do anything here for you? Marble slabs, or alabaster ornaments for St. Katharine's?

Pray present my best respects to Lady Taylor, and believe me most truly yours,

G. FITZCLARENCE.

(Referring to the above Letter.)

LIEUT.-GENERAL SIR R. HUSSEY VIVIAN¹ to SIR H. TAYLOR.

Brentwood. July 3rd, 1829.

MY DEAR TAYLOR,

Many thanks for the sight of the enclosed, it is very interesting, and some of FitzClarence's remarks are very just, others not quite so correct. For instance, he is all wrong in what he says of the pay of the French Dragoon.

I forget exactly what it is, but it is not, I am certain, forty-eight sous a day. A writer in the *Journaux Militaires des Services* sticks the pay of a private Dragoon at 172 f. 80 c. per annum. When I was at St. Omer I had an exact account of the distribution of the French Dragoon's pay; and I have no hesitation whatever in saying that in everything our system is infinitely more simple, that the soldier is less liable to be imposed on, and is altogether much better off. Then as to what FitzClarence says of the administration—there are sixteen Inspector-Generals in France, and it takes a fortnight to inspect each regiment; and after two hours' conversation with two distinguished officers, both Lieut.-Generals, I could not for the life of me make out what the d—l they were at all the time; but I wonder how the House of Commons would look if Sir H. Hardinge² was to propose half the number of Inspector-Generals?

I have much wished to visit Luneville, and promised De G—— to do so, but from one cause and another I have been prevented. If I live till September, and nothing happens to interfere, I will endeavour to do so.

I quite agree with FitzClarence as to never exercising without baggage—cavalry or infantry; I never see a regiment of cavalry but in marching order. No doubt the French horses are much better than we give them credit for, and I doubt F.C.'s conclusion that ours can outmarch them. And I doubt our horses' superior strength—if we are superior, it is in blood. The Cuirassiers at St. Omer were mounted on horses sixteen hands high for the most part, and I have not the least doubt that if placed in a scale against our Dragoons and Dragoon Guards they would average one-eighth more at least.

I stood by at least fifty of the horses and measured their legs, and the size in comparison to ours quite astonished me.

As to the French riding system and the breaking of their horses, or the interior of their regiments—in not one of these points are they at all to be compared to ours.

The system of responsibility is good, but it cannot be

¹ From 1825 to July, 1830, Sir Richard Hussey Vivian was Inspector-General of Cavalry; created Baron Vivian in 1841.

² Secretary for War, July, 1828, to July, 1830.

better understood or kept up than it is with us in most of the regiments of cavalry through the Captains of troops.

Our non-commissioned officers, I am sure, know the details of their duty, and everything connected with it, as well as the French,¹ and so also do they know the punishments they must expect from the commission of certain crimes. The *Lex Scripta* of the French is all very pretty to the observer, but in reality there is no more in it, nor has it any more effect on the conduct of the men than the knowledge that certain crimes will be attended with certain punishments has on the conduct of ours.

Our men have their account books as well as the French; and the accounts are kept in duplicate—and surely that is enough to satisfy any reasonable man. It has long been known that the French system is overloaded, both civil and military, with paper details. Our soldiers have their iron bedsteads; our corn is regularly delivered—and at all events it has the effect of making our horses fat, and putting them out of condition as F.C. allows—so there is no need for the lock and key to prevent their being robbed of their rations. I quite agree with FitzClarence as to the activity of the French horses, I saw no broken knees in the cavalry at St. Omer, and very few falls whilst exercising over a country intersected with small ditches. I wish we could assemble cavalry enough to mix our squadrons or do anything else; if we could I should not be ashamed to show them after any French or other cavalry.

And this I know—that I have taken French officers to our barracks and gone through theirs. I have seen but little to imitate, whilst they have seen much.

Ever, my dear Taylor, faithfully yours,

HUSSEY VIVIAN.

Concerning the Accoutrements of the Cavalry.

SIR HERBERT TAYLOR to SIR HUSSEY VIVIAN (*Inspector-General of Cavalry*).

Horse Guards. November 20th, 1829.

. . . I will briefly notice several points you bring forward. First, the helmets. I agree with you entirely. I consider them abominable from their weight and inconvenience, and also from their appearance, as they are out of proportion to the general size of the man, and have the effect of taking from his height

¹ Colonel FitzClarence's remark, however, was that certain duties which in English regiments were left to the non-commissioned officers were performed in France by the subaltern officers.—E. T.

and breadth instead of adding to them. I should not have the least hesitation in calling for the opinions of the commanding officers of regiments, and submitting them with yours and my own to the King; nor do I scruple stating mine in direct opposition to the Duke of Cumberland, as I have recently shown; but I dread going headlong into further changes of dress and equipment at this moment when I have great difficulty in contending against such.

Whenever, however, the period arrives for a fresh issue of helmets to the cavalry I will bring the question forward.

Secondly, as to the scaled epaulette. I have no other objection than as a matter which may suggest other changes in the dress of the cavalry, and God knows where we shall stop when the impulse is given. At any rate, you do not state this change as a matter of *necessity* until service offers.

If I were to mention it, all the uniforms would be again altered, and, what I have hitherto evaded, a new distribution and numbering of regiments would take place. *Chasseurs à cheval* would be introduced, and all the Dragoon Guards would be made to wear cuirasses. All this has been frequently in agitation.

Thirdly, there is not the same objection to any change in the arms, and I quite agree with you that the pistol is a useless encumbrance, and that we should gain by getting rid of it, confining ourselves to the carbine, which should be the improved arm you wish to introduce. Upon this point also it might be advisable to give weight to our opinion by bringing forward the report of commanding officers of regiments, who should collect the sentiments of the old soldiers.

As to lances, I dislike the arm, and I wish we could get rid of it, or that we could reduce the proportion of the lancers, which is equal to one-sixth of the whole, and therefore preposterous: but there is an inclination to increase it, and to convert some of the heavy regiments into chasseurs, of course with green uniforms and rifle carbines. . . .

H. TAYLOR.



SIR HERBERT TAYLOR.

CHAPTER XVIII

1829-1830

The Unsettled Condition of Greece—*Letters*: Sir F. Adam—Prince Leopold—Captain Lyster—Lieut.-General Sir T. B. Reynardson—Major-General F. Ponsonby—Sir H. Taylor—Colonel Gurwood—Captain Glasse—Mrs. Urquhart and David Urquhart; Remarks on Greece and Turkey—Lieut.-Colonel Hamilton—General George Cockburn—Captain Lyster.

THE unsettled condition of Greece has already been touched upon, and in this chapter several correspondents deal with the same subject. Count Capo d'Istria's appointment (after the battle of Navarino) as President of that country was for seven years; but his Government being unpopular it seemed likely that a monarchy would be established early in 1830. No monarch, however, was forthcoming at the moment, though there was quite a possibility that Prince Leopold of Saxe Coburg would accept the responsibilities of that position. The matter hung in doubt for about six months, and it is said that the Prince finally refused because Crete was not to be included in the realm.

SIR FREDERICK ADAM to SIR H. TAYLOR.

Corfu. December 3rd, 1829.

. . . I do not envy the future King of Greece, though I am glad to find that the Capodistrian dynasty is—in Napoleon's phrase—"to cease to reign." I think the Count will make one effort to thwart the determination of the Allies, but I trust it is, ere this, fixed that he is not to remain. . . .

H.R.H. PRINCE LEOPOLD to SIR H. TAYLOR.

Claremont. December 5th, 1829.

MY DEAR TAYLOR,

It is long since I have not had (*sic*) the pleasure of seeing you at Claremont. Permit me, therefore, to propose to

you to accept of some shooting on the 22nd and 23rd, Tuesday and Wednesday. In the mean time believe me, with truest regards, my dear Taylor,

Yours very faithfully,
LEOPOLD.

A Sporting Suggestion.

CAPTAIN LYSTER to SIR HERBERT TAYLOR.

Stamford. January 4th, 1830.

SIR,

. . . You may well judge in my very unfortunate situation, that where I fancy an opening in which there might be a chance of a little help to enable me to keep a numerous family, I naturally embrace it.

I am aware that every great man on this earthly stage has friends to provide for, and that men holding high situations have numerous applications for appointments under them—yet I have known men, who had no claims, obtain appointments through the interest of friends.

It is confidently said Prince Coburg¹ is to be the Regent of the peninsula of Greece. 'Tis true I have no claim to ask any favour of His Royal Highness for an appointment in the Royal Household, yet if you would say a word to the Prince in favour of me I should for ever be grateful. I would go out as His Royal Highness's gamekeeper, as I understand the breeding of all sorts of game, sporting dogs, etc., etc.; and although pheasants or English partridges are not in Greece, I would engage to breed and rear a quantity of each for His Royal Highness's shooting on the estate or principality he may reside at; and I will ensure him in three years, by growing buck-wheat, to have as many pheasants as you will find on a good English preserve.

In a hot climate pointers and setters lose their sense of smell, and spaniels are the only dogs which can be used with utility. I have frequently tried pointers in Spain, and found the wild herbage so strong that they would run over the birds. My spaniels are of a very fine breed; and should you do me the kindness to speak to the Prince, I beg to assure you for His Royal Highness's information, that I can kill nineteen snipe out of twenty-one shots, the whole season through.

If His Royal Highness would only try me as his head and principal sportsman, from the many years' experience I have had in this way, I am satisfied I should be able to give the

¹ Prince Leopold of Saxe Coburg.

Prince satisfaction. It now rests with you whether to mention it or not, as your judgment may think fit. Believe me, your very faithful servant, . . .

ST. GEORGE LYSTER.

Ladies out Hunting.

LIEUT.-GENERAL SIR T. BIRCH REYNARDSON to SIR H. TAYLOR.

Holywell, Stamford. December 12th, 1829.

. . . My poor lame son, although in health, has no prospect of leaving off his crutches, and I am very uncomfortable about him. He suffers the mortification of seeing me occasionally with my red coat on; however, I hunt less on this account, although I am obliged to *attend parade* once or twice a week, or they would say "the General is training off"—and indeed, when one sees such men as Dr. Willis and Lord Lonsdale, who have been at it all their lives, not growing older, it is an encouragement on the score of health; and what do you think of Lady Lonsdale this very day with her red habit on, riding seven or eight miles to cover, going the run, and very fairly in at the death? Pretty well, this, for 68 (I think) or say 66. We had also out Lady Eleanor Lowther and Lady Caroline Powlett, the former *bumps* away unmercifully (I mean when applied to her horse), and is not satisfied unless she is in the *front rank*—in short, she likes to take a lead, and would not disgrace a *pair of breeches*. It was not for the first time (to-day) that I heard her claim the brush.

She knows the names of most of the hounds, and remarks when a favourite one makes a good hit.

I assure you I have been very jealous riding between the lady first named and the last, and the question "who deserved the brush" very sharply contested.

I could not help giving you this little sketch. You will excuse my so taking up your time. I hope Lady Taylor is quite well. . . .

Yours, etc.,
T. BIRCH REYNARDSON.

Soldiers' Uniforms—Curtailment and Neat-fitting.

MAJOR-GENERAL THE HON. F. PONSONBY (*Governor of Malta*)
to SIR H. TAYLOR.

Malta. December 6th, 1829.

. . . The only difficulty which occurs in answering the different questions in the Confidential Report is respecting the

clothing of the men, "whether any curtailment or reduction has taken place on the plea of neat fitting."

My opinion is that our clothing is generally fitted too tightly; but, on the other hand, the clothing as it comes from England (exclusive of the uncouth appearance) bags so in various places that, when pressed upon by the accoutrements and pack, it might occasion friction to the man's body, and certainly would to the coat itself. I will give my best attention to this matter; but I shall never do it well, having an extremely obtuse understanding in everything relating to dress.

If you can give me any general hints on this subject I shall be obliged to you.

The 85th, in my opinion, are the best fitted, and I believe my best plan would be to adopt their dress as the standard; but still the expense to the soldier would be incurred—not authorized by any order that I know of.

Ever yours,
F. PONSONBY.

SIR H. TAYLOR'S REPLY.

Horse Guards. March 3rd, 1830.

. . . The object of the question about curtailment and neat fitting, etc., in the Confidential Report is to prevent the regimental tailors from cutting away the flap and skirts on the plea of neat fitting. It is perfectly understood that some fitting is necessary, but it was formerly carried to such excess that the soldier could hardly breathe in his uniform, more especially from tightness about the chest and collar; and a coat, instead of coming completely over his hips as intended, was squared off like a swallow's tail by way of looking smart.

It has been recently suggested that the measure of the individuals should be sent from each regiment to the clothiers, and that with few exceptions of awkward-made men all necessity of fitting at the regiments should thus be obviated.

This would save time, trouble, and expense; and would throw into the effective ranks the tailors, otherwise a useless and very irregular class of men. But this has not yet been determined upon. . . .

The Royal
Master
of dress.

Au reste, I do not pretend to understand much about the matter any more than you do; but *en revanche* our Royal Master does for *both*, and he has cut out plenty of this sort of work for me since I have been entrusted with the equipment of the Army. . . .

H. TAYLOR.

Colonel Gurwood had formerly been the Duke of Wellington's secretary, and was also the indefatigable Editor of the Duke's Dispatches. He was now hoping to get permission to join the French Army at Algiers, and kept in correspondence with Taylor, writing from Paris:—

Paris. March 19th, 1830.

I had hoped to have heard from you deciding my fate. It will be impossible for me to join on the 24th, having been cited to appear to identify Baron St. Clair as Major M——, whom I knew in 1811 and 1812. He is to be tried next week . . . was in 1812 dismissed the service, or rather returned as a deserter, for having obtained pensions by false certificates of wounds which he received in an affray in India. He has been long a notorious swindler here.

The King's¹ expression to-day on proroguing the Chambers was, "Je préfère monter à cheval que d'être trainé dans la charette." I believe there is not a chance of either, as far as I can judge of public opinion, which is strong against the complete nullity and incapacity of M. de Polignac.²

Very sincerely yours,

J. GURWOOD.

SIR H. TAYLOR'S REPLY.

Horse Guards. March 25th, 1830.

. . . I was aware of the question of Mr. M——, and both Sir Henry Hardinge and I have sent certificates to Paris concerning it.

Your proceedings at Paris are very interesting, though not altogether agreeable. I hope they will not produce any explosion of which the sparks may extend.

I own that I look with more apprehension to the longing eyes that are cast towards the Rhine as a frontier, and the turbulent disposition of the Netherlands, than to the effect of any internal political squabbles.

H. TAYLOR.

LIEUT.-COLONEL GURWOOD to SIR H. TAYLOR.

Paris. March 29th, 1830.

I am much obliged to you for your kind note which put me a little at my ease, being at present absent without leave—a position not consonant with my feelings as a soldier.

¹ Charles X.

² About two months after the date of this letter the Polignac ministry came to an end, and the Chamber of Deputies was dissolved—to be reconstructed July 26th. The revolution commenced the next day, ending in the abdication of Charles X., on August 2nd, and the acceptance of the Crown by the Duke of Orleans as Louis Philippe, on August 7th.

I took the liberty to address you a week since on the subject of leave to go to Algiers. I find by the conversation with Lord Stuart that I had better have not made the *official* application for so doing, as the granting it would convey a breach of neutrality—of this I did not think at the moment. General R., who knows me, has spoken with great kindness to Lord Stuart on the subject, but on referring since to Prince Polignac, so many applications have been made by foreign officers to accompany the expedition, that he thought proper to take the King's orders before he would give his sanction to my going, although desirous to oblige me. His Majesty's orders are, I believe, not propitious to my views, although every facility would be offered to me, in the event of my arriving at the siege,¹ to render my "sejour" with the Army as agreeable to me as possible. As I have laid on the bare ground with ten degrees of cold, I should not hesitate to do the same with thirty degrees of heat to see an interesting operation—I trust the last which will occur during my career.

I finished Major M——, as you will have seen by the newspapers. I luckily knew, by reputation and person, Lieut.-Colonel St. Clair whom he wished to personate. I stated this to the Court, and luckily that officer returned to Paris a few days since, and will be examined on Tuesday next (to-morrow) with all of us.

Political
feeling in
France.

You are quite right in your apprehension about the views of the Liberals and the discontented. No later than last night Mont Gaillard, the great political writer and Liberal, assured me that France would never be contented until the Rhine formed her boundary.

This would certainly flatter the *amour propre* of the nation; but from what I see, the major part of the nation desires peace as much as England, and ridicules the idea so industriously circulated that the French Government is *à la remorque du Duc de Wellington*.

I should say that Paris is very quiet. The journals are far from being just reporters of the state of public feeling, which does not manifest itself in any way opposing the Government. The Liberals have not gained in the public consideration by their late conduct, but it does not efface the sorry figure made by Polignac at the Tribune.

Sincerely yours,
J. GURWOOD.

¹ Of Algiers.

The Slave Trade Question in the West Indies.

CAPTAIN GLASSE to SIR H. TAYLOR.

29, Parliament Street. April 1st, 1830:

. . . Two years ago at the Danish Island of St. Thomas, I was in the company of a Frenchman, the captain of a slave ship under Spanish colours, who several days before had landed a cargo of slaves at Porto Rico. This captain said, all he had to do was to keep out of the latitude of the English cruisers, and that French ships of war never approached him.

The negro's wants (saving salt and clothing) being amply supplied, and with small toil, from the luxuriant soil on which he lives, he will not work when emancipated; for though he loves money—and the ordinary wages of a negro is half a dollar per diem—his idleness predominates over his avarice.

The work performed by a slave is not half so great as that done by a common English labourer; and in contrasting the situation of the two, it should be remembered that the slave possesses the means of accumulating money; he is taken care of in sickness and old age; his wife is encouraged by a reward of three pounds for each child she gives birth to, and he himself could give a friend a good dinner any day in the year. In fine, such are the advantages possessed by the slave, that a *free negro* man prefers taking a slave for wife to a *free negress*, because he values the maintenance of his children beyond their enjoying liberty.

For the gradual abolition of slavery, perhaps the most advisable plan to resort to would be that of placing a value on each slave;¹ which might be effected by the magistrates in each parish; and opening a savings bank, where the slave could deposit his money, until it amounted to a sufficient sum to purchase his freedom. By this method the most industrious slaves only would get emancipated; and this is the class which would be the most likely to work when free; besides, an advantage to discipline might arise from the adoption of this measure—namely, that of the slave becoming less likely to run away, or absent himself from his master's service (which is now often done for months or even years) when he had money placed thus publicly at interest, than he now is.

At all events, this last measure is of a nature to silence the clamour of many persons.

F. G.

¹ A similar suggestion is contained in Mr. Wavell's letter of July 21st, 1828, written from Mexico.

Concerning Lieut. David Urquhart, R.N.

In the following letter to Sir H. Taylor Mrs. Urquhart speaks of her son's services in the cause of Greek freedom. Some extracts of his own letters to her are added. He was one of many Englishmen who had joined the Greek Standard; and he afterwards had a notable career:—

Grove Terracc. March 27th, 1830.

SIR,

Deeply impressed by the kind indulgence with which you have done me the honour to communicate, not only your own sentiments, but those of Sir Robert Gardiner,¹ respecting my son, beggars my thanks but not my gratitude. For to your prudence, Sir, I know I might confide his interests with all safety, and not less so if they bore upon interests that have ever been carefully watched over by you.

Allow me to acknowledge my obligation by saying that your approbation has filled me with a joy that makes my present separation from him bear lighter than it has yet done.

I was quite satisfied that his letters would require a very candid and fair perusal, which could not be expected immediately; yet the nearer these letters are seen, the dawn to the approaching sovereign² opens, and foreruns the brightest day, because we see a people ready to awaken the best impressions; and you have seen, Sir, with the greatest propriety that these letters were strictly confidential to a parent from whom he would not hide even his faults. Allow me to take the liberty of adding that he is now at Constantinople; he says much of the First Consul's kindness to him. His letters, from their freshness, are for the moment more interesting than those from Greece. The Turkish authorities have offered him land to settle anywhere he chooses. They wish also to benefit by his mineralogical and geographical knowledge, but he seems anxious to remain in Greece—her glory for which he has fought, and her interests which are near his heart are all in all to him; but he seems to desire nothing more than to be a cultivator of her soil, and to see her commerce flourish.

The country, he says, stands in a most favourable position for both, and well managed by a generous policy must become great. In forty months he has experienced severe wounds and deathlike sickness, shipwreck, with the loss of all his property, books, instruments, etc.; and the loss of a dear brother at Grabusa. He has seen about five brother officers return out of from forty to fifty who went out in the cause; these have left their claims upon the Government in his hands.

¹ Aide-de-camp and Equerry to Prince Leopold of Saxe Coburg.

² Evidently referring to Prince Leopold.

These and many other objects, particularly schools and employments for the welfare of the Greeks, have engrossed his energies, and excited him far above his physical strength, so that those who return tell me that they are astonished how he really stands it. This made me desire that he should leave the Navy when Capo d'Istria would have given him Captain Hastings's vessel.

I do not attempt, Sir, to give you any opinion of my own; what I have said has been told me by those who have seen him, courageous in attack, cool in danger, prudent and humane in victory; and Lord Cochrane¹ will bear this statement out.

One person, who certainly deserved better treatment, says he will require many months to cool from what he suffered in Greece; sufferings and privations are *nothing* to treatment. But perhaps as things are now it is better to let all that has passed be buried in oblivion, and the people will soon be able to discriminate by a just and equitable government who are, and who are not, their friends. . . .

I shall write to my son immediately and recommend him to return to Greece, which he has not yet done. He desired that I should write to Greece as well as to Constantinople, in the event of his immediate return, that he might find a letter waiting him there. I have the honour, Sir, of gratefully subscribing myself,

Your obliged and obedient,
MARGARET URQUHART.

The extracts of letters that follow—from David Urquhart to his mother—were the precursors of others written a little later, when Sir Herbert was Private Secretary to William IV. His father having died early, young Urquhart was brought up by his mother, receiving a Continental education. He attended a French military school, went to Spain with his tutor, and returned to England in 1821. For some months he studied farming, and spent three more at Woolwich Arsenal as an ordinary workman—getting some instruction in gunnery.

In 1822 he matriculated at St. John's College, Oxford; and took part in the Greek War of Independence in 1827, serving as Lieutenant in the "Hellas" frigate, for which he afterwards received the thanks of the Government of Greece.

In 1830 Urquhart was at Argos when the protocol arrived determining the boundaries of the Greek territory. He at once decided to examine the frontiers personally. His reports were communicated by his mother to Sir Herbert Taylor, who

¹ Admiral of the Greek fleet when the Greeks were fighting for independence.

was very much impressed by the ability they displayed. Sir Herbert submitted them to the King, and they were sent to the French and Russian Governments. In consequence of this, Urquhart was nominated British Commissioner to accompany Prince Leopold to Greece, if the latter had accepted the throne.

In 1831 he went out with Sir Stratford Canning to Constantinople, and in 1833 was dispatched on a secret mission to inquire into the openings for British trade in the Eastern Countries. He soon acquired the implicit confidence of the Turkish Government, who, on account of the aggression of Mehemet Ali, were at that time forced to receive aid from Russia, and therefore to yield concessions to them. Lord Palmerston took alarm at Urquhart's growing intimacy with the Porte, and (through the British Ambassador) had him removed. Whereupon he returned to England to justify himself, and increased his reputation by his pamphlet, "England, France, Russia and Turkey"; but he was unable to persuade the Duke of Wellington to make active intervention against Russia.

In 1835 Lord Melbourne appointed him Secretary of the Embassy at Constantinople. The high hand he took on Russia's proceedings in preventing foreigners from trading with Circassia, and the disinclination of the British Government to intervene on this question, eventually caused his recall.

David Urquhart was always a strong Turcophil, but it was recognized that he had a thorough knowledge of Eastern European politics.¹

The Condition of Turkey and Greece.

EXTRACTS OF LIEUT. URQUHART'S LETTERS TO HIS MOTHER.

Constantinople. . . . If the Sultan succeeds in loosening the bonds of superstition that hold together the Empire and support the throne, either that Empire will fall of itself asunder, or some ambitious Pacha will put on a Dervish cap, and will rear at once the standard of rebellion and religion, will overturn the commencements that have already been made, and will postpone, if he cannot altogether check, their future accomplishment.

Selim,² though he had views superior to any other Ottoman Emperor, and had collected around him Ministers such as no other reign had produced, failed in his projected reforms because he was superior to his age and nation. Mahmud³ was superior to neither, and the crisis having turned in his favour

¹ See "Dictionary of National Biography."

² Selim III., Sultan of Turkey, deposed in 1807.

³ Mahmud II., Sultan of Turkey from 1808 to 1839, son of Abdul Hamid.

against all previous experience, he was forced into a new career. He has formed regular troops, and established a good police—this is indeed much; but I am sorry to say that it is nearly all (though it is to be hoped that they are making *firm* as well as hasty strides) excepting the negative advantage of the powerlessness of the Ulemá¹ and the absence of the Janissaries.

But I fear it requires more enlightened views than his to arrest decline so universal and so blinded, and more than the art of even our political physicians to cauterize wounds so deep. What would be the unalloyed glory of a Prince in his place, neglecting not the substance for the form? He would not uselessly wound the prejudice of his people. He would seek to fill the most important situations—not, as at present, with the most abject, but with the most capable. He would give equal rights to all his subjects, respect the coinage, and leave agriculture and commerce to the unassisted as well as unshackled efforts of those who were only civilians and true philosophers.

Next year I think you should be very comfortable here. There is one work of charity, the most important perhaps in this country, which I think you would delight in. The number of orphans, as you may conceive, is enormous. One of the first acts of the Government was to provide an asylum for the boys; for the girls, which is much more *important*, no provision has been or can well be made, though every one regrets the want of it.

Were you to come out, I imagine you would easily procure five hundred pounds for such a purpose. Dr. Howe would give you land for the establishment, and clothes for the children, and should he be fortunate in his undertaking, perhaps contribute money.

I feel satisfied that such a work of charity would delight and amuse you, and lead you to undertake many others, the usefulness of which you are well able to appreciate. I wait your answer on all these points with extreme impatience.

. . . On my arrival at a place I had never been in before, I had beds made up for me in three different places, and my friends were disputing as to which of them I should go.

I am glad to mention to you these instances of kindness and consideration I receive, as they gratify me most from the thought of the pleasure they would give you, and the testimony they will give that I tried to imitate your . . . which I feel every day the more—the more I see of mankind, and the more difficulties I have to encounter.

It is true dinner parties and balls every evening have introduced me to the leading men and prevailing opinions, but I have not yet sufficiently matured my own ideas. I shall trouble

¹ The "Ulemá" were theological Jurists, and held in their hands the interpretation of the Koran.

neither you nor myself with topography or the picturesque, but rather with the impressions made on me, and the information I can obtain respecting the moral and political state of the people, for which the epithets "interesting," "astonishing," and "unexpected" have become too trite, but which, from the accounts I have seen in the English papers, must have given you more surprise than interest, as you cannot there perceive the difficulties to overcome, the advantages gained, the errors committed; and by endeavouring to astonish you by what has been effected, they deprive you of all participation in the long struggle that is *just* commencing, and perhaps lead you, when you perceive one portion of the account is erroneous, to doubt whether anything has been done.

I have been employing my time, and as much of my thoughts as are my own, to gaining general information on the State prospects and resources of this interesting country, and the disposition of its inhabitants. With these I have been highly gratified, and can scarcely recover from my astonishment at the universal ignorance in Europe on all these questions, at present of such vital importance, as well as at the false views with which your periodicals are teeming.

The young Turks of the highest class unite to the most amiable and engaging manners, the strongest desire of instruction, and respect for our customs and institutions.

The people—in all things to be honourably distinguished from what I trust I may designate their *late* Government—are sober, industrious, and honest to a proverb. Their religion which, notwithstanding one's prejudices, would bear a favourable comparison with the general religion of Europe, has hitherto been the enemy of civilization and humanity; but so far as it has been the support and *the* tool of despotism and the most hideous misrule, it is now divested of that sinister character so dangerous even to the despotism it confirmed—and, strange to say, the civil authority has, of its own impulse, granted ample concessions to agriculture, commerce, and personal security. Stranger still, the people show a disposition to exact a performance of these stipulations, and on one occasion have actually risen in a firm but respectful manner on these newborn rights being withheld.

Their territory being rich to prodigality, and as extensive as fortunately placed, if their property and personal liberty were firmly established (and this is a necessity of the continuance of the Turkish dominions in Europe), it would in a very short period be the seat of wealth and power quite immeasurable.

The war with Russia, instead of laying Turkey prostrate at his feet, has been the most fortunate event that could have happened to this country. She has lost (excepting the frontiers

in Asia) what, from the use she made of it, was of no value to her. She has gained the all-important knowledge that she must not rely implicitly on the promises of European Cabinets—that there are errors which she must correct—that she has resources which she must improve.

Look to Egypt—what she was a few years ago—what she has so rapidly become—and what she may be in a few years more. Incredible as it may appear, her revenue, when the present system is completed, will equal that of Russia. It now exceeds six million pounds. In that country there were many difficulties to be overcome unknown in Turkey. This last is equally fertile in many parts—a hundredfold more extensive with a finer position and superior population.

Here we are waiting with the greatest anxiety the settle-
ment of the Greek business and the appointment of a Prince. Greece.
I hear that matters in Greece have passed all bounds; nothing has yet been done for agriculture and commerce, capitalists are prevented coming into the country, and thirty-five Greek mercantile houses have sought refuge in various Turkish ports from oppressive and vexatious acts for which the most arbitrary Government would blush.

I will just hint at the possibilities which might now induce me to remain in this country. If an European Prince were sent out, and the Government established on a respectable footing, I might obtain an honourable situation under it, and if the project of buying land, which I have opened to my uncle, should meet with his approval, my wishes would altogether be accomplished. It is a subject I think I understand—I mean as far as regards the situation of the country—an occupation I should delight in, and so much the more as I am sure it would be pleasing to you; and I am already combining in my mind every little arrangement that would make you comfortable. . . . I can hope for no satisfaction till I embrace you.

Nothing can prudently be done until the definitive arrangement of the country; but it would then be of the utmost importance to seize the very first opportunity of purchasing.

A few years ago there were eighty mines farmed in Turkey
by the Government. Turkey.
Extortion and violence and ignorance have completely dried up those sources of wealth. They now seem most anxious to introduce the same liberal principles into this department. There is not even a single individual here that has general information on the subject.

Whilst I may lose the singular opportunities I may now have at this very important moment, and whilst I ardently desire to know your opinion, I feel the impossibility of giving you a sufficiently correct idea of the country, etc., to enable you to form a correct judgment of them.

The
desire for
improve-
ment
among the
Turks.

You must *forget* all that you have heard of the Turks. The desire of improvement is perhaps, though untutored, more declared than in the most enlightened of the European Governments. Economy is so rigidly enforced and practised by all, from the Sultan downwards, that the Sultan's private establishment has less cash or luxury than that of a Préfet of a Département of France; and none of the Ministers keep more than six servants. So liberal are they to Europeans, and so anxious to repair the abandoned state of the country, that they have engaged English agriculturists, supplying the land, cattle, and expenses, and sharing the profits; and if they could obtain respectable individuals they intend to establish such colonies all over the country. I said two or more were daily expected; numbers will no doubt soon follow after the first experiment. It is superfluous to expatiate on the importance of such a disposition on the part of the chiefs of the Turkish Empire. The mere mention of the fact says more than volumes; and that it is so, there is the most satisfactory and universal testimony. You cannot suppose me in favour of the Turks, or rather of the fanaticism that has hitherto formed the distinguishing features of their Government, but even the most prejudiced amongst them must allow that changes such as I have indicated are most extraordinary in themselves, and present the most encouraging anticipations for the future.¹ . . .

. . . DAVID URQUHART.

Military Appointments in Greece.

LIEUT.-COLONEL HAMILTON to SIR H. TAYLOR.

Libourne. April 27th, 1830.

Do pray pardon all the trouble I am giving you, and admit as an excuse my great anxiety and desire to get some military appointment in Greece. Mrs. Hamilton feels equally anxious to go to Greece, and has written to her uncle, Lord Macclesfield, to second your application to Sir Robert Gardiner.

Do you think it would be advisable for me to go to London to wait on Prince Leopold? I shall be guided entirely by your

¹ Many statesmen at this time believed that under the rule of Mahmud II. there would soon be a political regeneration throughout Turkey.

Urquhart, during his after life, wrote various works on International Policy, and some of his correspondence has been published. But his letters to Sir H. Taylor were, I believe, returned before the death of the latter; and I do not know whether they still exist.

advice. I believe Prince Leopold is still in Paris. The *Times* newspaper stated the other day that there were a great many French officers at this time in the Greek service who held the most important military situations. If this is the case, I conceive it would be politic on our part to appoint, with the consent of Prince Leopold, British officers to serve with the Greeks, as a counterpoise to French influence in the Morea.

I am afraid our good King is very ill, and as the bulletins are not regularly published, many persons fancy that His Majesty is worse than he really is. I don't like changes, and I sincerely hope we shall have George IV. to reign over us for the next ten years.

Entre nous, I have not been idle since I resided in this part of France (*Le travail éloigne de nous trois grands maux—l'ennui, le vice, et le besoin.*—Voltaire.) and I hope soon to present to you a history of Aquitaine, afterwards the Duchy of Guyenne, which was governed for three centuries by our Kings of the Plantagenet race, as Dukes of Guyenne. This period, the most interesting to the English reader, I shall enter into rather fully.

. . . The museums and public libraries of Bordeaux and Libourne are sources from which I derive much useful information; and I find the Latin that Dr. James flogged into me at Rugby, and my Spanish, most serviceable, particularly the latter in perusing the old Gascon rolls. A friend of mine tells me that we have a great many of these rolls in the Tower of London, the reading of which would throw much light on the history of Guyenne from the reign of Henry II. to that of Henry VI.

I must contrive to see these valuable records of old times, and I hope through your influence to accomplish this object.

I find Froissart and De Thou excellent books for consulting on doubtful points in History; but I am rather puzzled with the old French of Froissart. When a man once mounts his hobby horse he becomes a sad bore to his friends—pray forgive me, my dear Sir Herbert. If I have the good luck to go to Greece I will rummage among the ruins for you; and I think I shall be peculiarly unfortunate if I don't find some of the *chef d'œuvres* of this once refined and civilized nation, or rather States. You must not serve me as you did when I sent presents for you from South America, by giving them to others. We are all well, and Mrs. Hamilton begs to be most kindly remembered to you and Lady Taylor. . . .

Ever most affectionately yours,

J. P. HAMILTON.

General Cockburn's Knighthood.

GENERAL G. COCKBURN, K.C.H., to SIR H. TAYLOR.

Shungunagh Bray. May, 1830.

Many thanks for your kind letter. I was not aware before that my name was entered in the Army list as "Sir George"; but as to the K.C.H. after it—that *I have a right to*. The King was pleased to confer the Order on me, and I always said it was far beyond what I had any claim to; but as I explained to you, I was not *knighthooded*, neither do I desire it as long as the Military Knights do not take precedence of the tinkers who come up with Corporation Addresses, or my Lady Shopkeepers in Dublin.

I am of opinion, however, that my best plan is to act as hitherto—that is, leave the matter as it stands; those who choose to call me Sir George are welcome to do so; but I do not take the title, because I never got it; and with every deference for your opinion, I think it would be wrong in me to write to the Secretary at War on the subject, for if he was now to alter what has been so long in print, people might suppose I had done something wrong, and that I had been removed, or the Order taken from me.

I wear it on all proper occasions, conceiving it quite distinct from the Knighthood, and unless the latter had followed the other in matter of course without the ceremony, I think I am *not Sir George*; though certainly a K.C.H. . . .

Sincerely yours,

G. COCKBURN.

Perhaps it is scarcely realized to what extent the system of franking letters used to be carried on. M.P.'s, and those in high official positions, were besieged by their friends and importunate acquaintances on this account; and it is not to be wondered at. There were upwards of forty rates on single inland letters alone before the penny postage system was introduced in 1840—and these letters were seldom prepaid. There were no adhesive stamps. To the poor man correspondence was a serious item of expense, and Captain Lyster's letters afford an illustration of many others.

CAPTAIN LYSTER to SIR H. TAYLOR.

Stamford. May 27th, 1830.

DEAR SIR,

You will do me a kindness by ordering the enclosed letter to be put into the twopenny post, unless my son should

be in town, of which Whiteford might know by seeing him call at your office ; but I suspect he is not in town, as he is not well enough to get up unless in a coach.

Whiteford put my son's letter for me into the general post without getting it franked—he little knows how ill I can afford the postage of a letter. My poor boy will be hard run even to buy the supply of linen required for the voyage to India.

. . . ST. GEORGE LYSTER.

At last it was known that Prince Leopold had definitely declined the Grecian Monarchy. It seems that for more than six months the decision was in doubt.

CAPTAIN LYSTER *to* SIR H. TAYLOR.

June 6th, 1830.

. . . You will do me a kindness by sending the enclosed downstairs for the twopenny post.

You see Prince Leopold refuses Greece. I judged so all along ; and I was quite aware the Greek people would never submit to the boundary as fixed ; nor is it natural to suppose they would agree to have their best soil given up to the Turks. There is no Prince who will take upon himself the Sovereignty of Greece but who will sleep upon a bed of thorns.

I know that country well, and the people ; what a pity their plenipotentiaries did not fix the boundaries differently ! How can they now propose to Turkey ? and if they don't, there will be more bloodshed.

I am greatly grieved to hear our poor King suffers so much. Had he taken calomel and squills three or four years ago, and continued it on, he would not now be so afflicted as he is. . . .

Believe me to be, dear Sir,

Your most obliged servant,

ST. GEORGE LYSTER.

P.S.—If the 62nd are still at anchor, pray do me the favour of sending the enclosed, franked, to my son, who, poor fellow, came up in a great hurry to embark, with but a very few days, to get the necessary articles for a voyage ready.

CHAPTER XIX

1827-1830

Army Retrenchment—Suggestions in regard to certain Military Details.

RETRENCHMENT in the Army is a question that Ministers have often had to face, especially after a long period of peace, or when there is a restless feeling for economy, or a recognition—fancied or otherwise—of extravagance in certain departments.

The following extract from Lord Palmerston to Sir H. Taylor is instructive as giving his point of view in 1827. Lord Palmerston was at that time at the War Office; Sir Herbert being the Deputy Secretary at War.

July 23rd, 1827.

. . . In calculating what reduction can safely be made, we must not forget that our force at home has been rendered much more speedily applicable to the service of the whole United Kingdom by the facility of steam communication with Ireland, and that instead of being obliged to measure, as we formerly did, the amount of force to be kept in each island, by the possible demands which emergencies in each island may create, and thus keeping in each island a reserved surplus to meet such emergencies beyond the force required for other purposes, we may now almost consider the two islands as being for military purposes united, and may keep one such reserved surplus to meet emergencies in both islands.

In fact, a reinforcement could now be sent from the South of England to many parts of Ireland as easily as it could to Scotland; and from other parts of England where troops are stationed it could reach Ireland much quicker than it could get to Scotland.

We must also consider the great facilities which we possess to increase our military force at home to a very considerable amount in the event of any foreign war, or of the necessity for foreign exertion.

A small increase of bounty and reduction of standard would

rapidly increase the number of recruits; and in a very few weeks a large force might be assembled by a call of out-pensioners; while in the event of actual war, the embodying of the British Militia would at once place 50,000 men under arms. The great object to keep in view is to preserve such a peace organization of the Army as would give us the means of cheap, speedy, and effective augmentation on the recurrence of war; but any given reduction of numbers that does not affect the frame and system is a matter of less importance; because, after all, it is a question of comparative inconvenience, and whichever way the balance inclines we must alter the weights to change the preponderance. At one time the inconvenience of paying the men is greater than that of not having them to do duty; at another time, from a change of circumstances, the inconvenience of not having the men for service required is greater than that of making the pecuniary effort to pay them.

A wise Government trims its sails according to the wind, and does not persist in steering on a fixed point, and spreading a given amount of canvas, let wind and tide change as they may.

The greatest inconsistency is that which may be defined to be the nonconformity of measures to events. . . .

P.

The next letter is from Sir H. Taylor to Mr. Vesey Fitzgerald, and severely criticizes the disinclination of Finance Committees to accept the opinion of expert witnesses:—

May 18th, 1828.

. . . I have understood that the Finance Committee have objected to the character of the evidence of official men, although they admit that it is given freely and without reserve, and that no reluctance has been shown to afford information or to reply to questions.

But the Finance Committee *seek* for opinions which may bear them out in the general declaration of many of its members that great retrenchments may be effected, and which may justify them coming to such a conclusion after due investigation; whereas the evidence given by official men consists of matter of fact—of facts and details, and of opinions derived from experience, which are at variance with the principles and the opinions the Committee wish to establish, and which therefore do not suit their purpose.

Such being the case, it is natural enough that they should not like to produce evidence which does not warrant their conclusions (which might more properly be called their *anticipations*), and that they should be afraid of bringing it on record.

Yet without such evidence they cannot, or ought not, to

venture to suggest any resolutions to the House of Commons ; nor is it likely that the House will adopt resolutions which are unsupported by evidence.

The Finance Committee appear to have lost sight of the object of their appointment, which may be presumed to be *inquiry* into that in which abuse or extravagance was supposed to prevail, and to have assumed to themselves the discretion and the power of the executive Government ; and they have adopted this alternative without sufficient information, and without sufficient previous consideration of the matter which called for attention and interference.

The consequence has been that they have wandered in search of something tangible, and that their attention has been given to the attempted reform of that which is most efficient and useful, *because it is most prominent*. Thus, for instance, in the Army, they must, in order to effect any serious diminution of expense, resort to reductions of effective numerical force and of useful and efficient departments, although it may have been clearly shown that such cannot be made without danger, or great inconvenience ; and this opinion is decidedly given and maintained by the Duke of Wellington.

In the Navy they must equally resort to a reduction of numbers, and of essential and necessary equipments, in order to justify their previously hazarded assertion that a great diminution of charge may be effected.

This applies equally to the Ordnance department, and to other establishments.

Those who are most clamorous for reductions must have been ignorant of the extent of the demands, of the application, the distribution, and the wear and tear of men and means ; yet when they have acquired that information from those most competent to give it, and who are admitted to have given it honestly and freely, they argue that those individuals have no other object in view than to maintain that which exists, or that with which they are connected, and to uphold its importance, and therefore that their evidence, although consisting of matter of fact, ought not to weigh against opinions previously assumed upon a presumption that excess and abuse prevail everywhere ; and that those in authority are disinclined to retrenchment, or that those who are called upon to execute do not follow the instructions they receive, and are not duly watched and checked.

Yet great pains have been taken to discard all that is useless and superfluous, to condense our means, and to render efficient and available all that does exist.

The Duke of Wellington,¹ above all men, has been assiduous and unsparing in his endeavours to attain these objects, and

¹ The Duke was, at this date, Prime Minister.

has shown that he judges with his own eyes, and will not suffer those subordinate to him to neglect or counteract his instructions.

He might, therefore, be trusted for the direction and the enforcement of every reform which can be effected without prejudice to the public service, and without danger to the State from contingencies of the nature of which he must be the best judge, and which it would not be prudent or justifiable to disclose to the Committee.

This indeed is a point which the Committee (I mean those who call for great reductions) seem to have placed entirely out of sight. They look only to the present moment, or rather they look back (as examples to be followed) to periods which are wholly inapplicable to present circumstances, divested of all prospective considerations; and they seem determined to place out of sight the necessity and expediency of maintaining our military and naval establishments upon a footing which shall render them available in the event of war, and may enable us to act with due and early effect.

They seem equally determined to disregard the experience of former periods in which the neglect of such precautions has been so seriously felt. When their attention is called to this, they call upon the Government to state whether they are preparing for war!

I have been led to make these observations from what passed on Friday night in the House of Commons, and also from having obtained a sight of certain questions submitted for the consideration of the Committee, chiefly affecting the Military establishments and arrangements, upon which I have made remarks in considerable detail. I am certain you will forgive my troubling you with both, especially as I have communicated the latter privately to the Duke of Wellington who acquainted me that he saw nothing to alter therein.

Ever yours truly,

H. T.

Advantages of Teaching Junior Officers to Manœuvre Troops.

Sir H. Taylor's reply to the following suggestion from Captain Burke was that he concurred, but could not interfere.

CAPTAIN BURKE to SIR H. TAYLOR.

Smith's Cottage, North End, Fulham. June 10th, 1828.

SIR,

I am aware that the subject and matter of this communication does not strictly belong to the office which you at

present hold in the service of His Majesty. I venture to do myself the honour of addressing you, not officially, but personally, and I hope for your indulgence; first, because I know that whatever relates to the discipline, efficiency, and honour of the British army will always be interesting to you; next, because I am actuated in addressing you by the remembrance of your kindness to me on all occasions in my profession.

I need not prove to you by examples that the best troops are liable to sudden panic, and the disastrous consequences. I will quote but a single recent and unhappy instance in which the cause of the evil in question is expressly stated:—

Lieut.-General Sir John Lambert states in his dispatch dated “Camp in front of the Enemy’s lines, below New Orleans, January 10th, 1815”—“that the death of the Commander of the Forces, and the bearing off, at the same time, Generals Gibbs and Keane, with many other commanding officers, caused a wavering in the column, which became, in such a situation, irreparable.” I am far from meaning the least disparagement to the zeal and gallantry of the officers upon whom the command devolved, but I hazard my opinion that if the men entertained the full confidence of knowledge and experience in their officers, the disastrous wavering of the column would not have taken place; or, having taken place, might have been repaired.

Now, this fatal want of confidence I attribute entirely to a vice at once radical, and easily removed, in the drill system of the British army. In our service, the field officers, and they only, manœuvre our troops—I mean nothing invidious—I have no particular corps or individual in view when I assert (and I appeal for the truth of my assertion to the experience of British officers) that Lieut.-Colonels (Commandants) are so jealous on this point, so anxious to impress on the men the notion that they, and they only (I believe the Majors are excepted) are competent to manœuvre, that they seldom, or never, give the junior officers an opportunity to manœuvre battalions. The consequence is, that a junior officer, however perfect in the theory of his profession, yet, when called upon to go through the actual *practice*, and in the heat of action, *cannot* have a proper and necessary confidence in himself; and *cannot* inspire a proper and necessary confidence in the men.

The object of the suggestions which I venture to place before you, Sir, is to provide that every officer, upon whom command may involve, shall be in a situation to do his duty with the advantages of practical experience and self-possession, and that his “Word of Command” and voice, being well known from flank to flank, shall give confidence to the men. I need not insist to you, Sir, upon the confidence and firmness which troops must derive from the knowledge that they can

never be left without an efficient Commander, whilst a single officer is left standing.

To ensure this advantage I venture to throw out the following suggestions. The battalion, upon arriving on its ground, shall be told off into squads, and each squad shall be put through every part of the drill by an *officer*. The drill being gone through at the end of (I will suppose) an hour, the men shall be allowed to fall out for, suppose, half an hour. The manœuvring in battalion shall now begin. The Lieut.-Colonel shall first go through the manœuvres as laid down; the Major, or Majors, under the eye of the Lieut.-Colonel, shall next go through the “entier” of the manœuvres, and so on in gradation—each officer shall manœuvre the battalion under the eye of the Commandant, from day to day, during the period allowed for field exercise, until each officer in the battalion become competent to command. The result will be, that every officer in our Army will be capable of commanding a single battalion or *more*, and that the Word of Command of every such officer will be known and confidently responded to from flank to flank in action.

In order to ensure the strict observance of this practice I suggest that the Reviewing Generals shall occasionally command junior officers to manœuvre battalions in their presence, and that every Commandant of a corps *shall* certify once a year, or oftener, that every officer under his command has frequently, during the period allowed for field exercise, put his battalion through all the manœuvres, as laid down. He should also be obliged to certify as to the competency or incompetency of every officer in his corps. . . .

I do not claim, Sir, for these suggestions the credit of originality; they are substantially the result of my observations of different military services on the Continent. British valour and “sang-froid” will for ever ensure the success and glory of British arms; but why should foreigners be allowed advantages easily within our reach? . . .

I have addressed these suggestions to you, Sir, from motives of grateful respect, and if my mode of testifying it should be troublesome or mistaken, I trust you will excuse the act in consideration of the motive.

I have the honour to remain, Sir, etc.,

J. BURKE.

Mountain Guns in the French Army.

MAJOR-GENERAL CRAVEN to SIR H. TAYLOR.

Saint Marcellin, Département de L'Isere, France.

September 23rd, 1828.

MY DEAR SIR,

. . . I beg leave for your information to mention a modern invention of our neighbours at this side of the Channel, which I have heard has proved to give satisfaction. It is the introduction into their service of small mountain guns, carrying a ball of from three to four pounds weight; the gun is carried dismantled on a mule's back, the carriage of it on the back of another, and the wheels hanging by the sides of a third mule.

I have not seen one of them, but I understand from a Colonel of Engineers that a brigade of this artillery was ordered to make a winter excursion amongst the Alps in this department; the time occupied exceeded a month, and the range of mountains made was of several leagues, embracing a circuit on a very elevated chain of mountains, considered inaccessible but to the chamois or the most persevering mountain pedestrians. The party executed the order, departing at one point and returning at another, having repeatedly mounted and put in battery and performed manœuvres of war and march, and returned without loss of man, mule, or gun, or of ammunition, which is likewise carried on mules' backs.

It strikes me, should unhappily Ireland become the seat of civil war, which God avert, that such artillery might well be worth the attention of the Government. It could be sent to annoy the flanks and rear of the numerous and wretched masses who throw themselves into morasses and mountains so that regular troops or our artillery cannot approach them. . . .

It is unnecessary to observe to *you* what wonders this nation (the French) have performed in mountain warfare, and what a field of enterprise their Alpine frontier affords to form the general, the officer, and the soldier.

Believe me, my dear Sir, with sentiments of the highest respect and gratitude, etc.,

CHARLES CRAVEN.

Colonel (afterwards Sir John) Woodford carried out various reforms in military discipline. He would never allow flogging in regiments under his command, and helped to bring about the discontinuance of the Purchase System. He was the younger brother of Sir Alexander Woodford, who at this period was Lieut.-Governor at Corfu. He writes as follows:—

On the Unfixing and Refixing of Bayonets on Field Days.

COLONEL WOODFORD to SIR H. TAYLOR.

June 3rd, 1830.

MY DEAR SIR HERBERT,

I think there is a point in our Field Exercise which can hardly be reconciled to military ideas, and that is, the perpetual unfixing and refixing of bayonets. It may be very well sometimes to drill for convenience without fixing bayonets, but the objection is to a systematic habit of keeping the bayonets fixed only so long as a supposed attack of cavalry is to be repelled, and afterwards immediately unfixing them, to resume other formation and movements.

Would it be proper for infantry to go into action at all without fixing bayonets?

I humbly think that, excepting the two cases of acting as light infantry, or being posted in entrenchments, or behind cover or obstacle of some sort, there can be no situation in which it would be proper.

If infantry is engaged with infantry in the field, bayonets ought to be fixed when the action begins.

A line which has opened its fire cannot be made to cease firing in an instant, in order to fix bayonets, or if it could, a precious moment would be lost when the advancing enemy might be close at hand.

What would be the effect on troops without bayonets fixed, if, on the clearing away of smoke, the opposing line were to be seen advancing rapidly to the charge?

It would be very rash, as well as an unnecessary and useless trial of the steadiness of troops, to replace them in such a predicament.

But this is the theory of our exercise. During a field day generally bayonets are unfixing, but after the line has formed squares on the word "Prepare to resist Cavalry" (when the men ought to have been already prepared), bayonets are to be fixed, when perhaps there will scarcely have been sufficient time to get into squares, and none over to establish good order; but, if there should be a few seconds of time to spare, it ought to be employed in firing, as there is no occasion to give the enemy's cavalry the advantage of reaching the square entirely without loss.

Why should a soldier be perplexed by the idea of a preparation neglected, and still to be made, in a moment of hurry, when deliberate coolness is everything? Such, however, is the theoretical plan of a field day; and as soon as the square has fired the volley of its kneeling ranks, bayonets are unfixing,

as if the cavalry which has just passed, or been repelled, was no longer in the field.

As the present mode of using cavalry is by reiterated charges, no commanding officer of infantry who had received one attack of cavalry, however successfully it might have been repelled, would think of disarming his men of their bayonets during the remainder of the action. Why, then, should a theory be established for instruction and exercise at variance with the practice in the field?

There is not only no advantage in the unfixing of bayonets so often, but there is a positive disadvantage.

Our bayonet springs are of imperfect construction, frequently out of order and lost, and this of course happens more in proportion to the frequency of use—not to mention the trouble and inconvenience afterwards caused to the soldier by returning a blackened bayonet repeatedly into the scabbard.

In no other service are bayonets unfixing so frequently as in ours.

The Prussians *never* unfix them, except to clean their arms. They have no bayonet scabbard, nor any mode of carrying the bayonet except on their firelock.

This is the opposite extreme, and as our soldiers wear their bayonets as side arms (which the Continental troops do not) the same plan would not suit our service. . . .

Cavalry, infantry, and artillery are so much used in mixed attacks that the transition from extended to close formations, and the reverse, must often be rapid and sudden.

No commanding officer can foresee exactly the moment when bayonets may be wanted, nor, if he could, would his word of command always be heard and obeyed in time.

The natural conclusion seems to be that from the moment the action begins (skirmishing excepted) the bayonet should be fixed, and remain fixed to the last.

I do not mean to convey the slightest reflection on the *Regulations* which were so anxiously framed for the field exercise, but I think the sort of *provision* therein given has been misconstrued into a positive injunction.

Believe me, my dear Sir,

Very truly yours,

J. WOODFORD.

A Pencil Note.

In a pencil note attached to Colonel Woodford's letter, Taylor expressed his general approval, and made a memorandum of the Regulation which bears on the subject—as follows:—

“Page 86, Section 72. Movements and firings *may* be performed with unfixing bayonets as giving greater ease to the men and more

accuracy of aim. They will be fixed upon all occasions when the approach of cavalry is expected, or when a charge is either to be made or repelled."

At the opening of Parliament on February 4th, 1830, the half-hearted references in the Address concerning the distress in various parts of England met with considerable coldness from members in all parts of the House. Sir E. Knatchbull, in his amendment, declared that the distress was general throughout England, and to a frightful extent in some parts. He moved that the House should take immediate steps to remedy it.

Sir Willoughby Gordon, who was the Quartermaster-General at the Horse Guards, makes here some remarks as to the temper of the House, and this leads him to explain his method of dealing with the question of Army reduction.

LIEUT.-GENERAL SIR J. WILLOUGHBY GORDON to SIR
H. TAYLOR.

Chelsea. February 6th, 1830.

MY DEAR TAYLOR,

Your letter of yesterday received this morning, and I return the enclosure with a memorandum on the corner of it. As you say that you stay till Monday, I will just mention a word or two about our proceedings¹ on the 4th inst., which may not be uninteresting just now.

My surprise was not a little—when before I had been in the House a quarter of an hour, and while Lord Darlington was moving the Address—to find from many quarters, and most, if not all, usually friends to the Government, that the speech was very generally disapproved of, and more especially that part of it which stated that distress existed in *some* parts of the country.

Sir E. Knatchbull rose and commenced his address upon his amendment with great apparent moderation, but as he proceeded, and felt that the House was with him, he became warm and hostile, and was cheered by a very large proportion of the House. I wanted to avoid a tiresome debate, and tried to find a pair, but neither myself nor my friend could succeed, so resolved were the opponents to sit it out—and, of course, this kept me there also.

Huskisson made a very acute, dexterous, and able speech, but with expressions of hostility at present, and insinuations of

¹ In the House of Commons.

Mr. Peel's hostility for the future. This necessarily called up Mr. Peel, who also flung away his scabbard, as far as Huskisson was concerned, and did his part so far well; but when he addressed himself to the question, he was powerless and feeble to a degree that surprised me; and whether it was that he felt his position untenable, or that he was discouraged by the abandonment of his friends, I know not, but he failed to impress, and his whole tone was plaintive and imploratory. This at once put an end to the case; not one solitary individual rose on the side of the Government who either represented a county or populous district but the mover, the seconder, and Alderman Thompson—and they all three contradicted that objectionable part of the speech.

I felt relieved when the division was announced, as the general impression was that we should be beaten.

Mr. O'Connell showed himself to be a practised and effective speaker, but his "profession of political faith," as he phrased it, was so outrageously intemperate that even his friends could give him but feeble cheers, and the speech upon the whole made no impression whatever upon the House.

It does not appear to me that there is any party which, as a party, can of itself make any impression against the Government; but I am thoroughly satisfied that the gentlemen who are now upon the Treasury Bench have not as a body either the confidence or even the respect of the House, and that nothing they offer, and nothing they say, will be taken and received as upon their authority, but that they must stand a warm debate upon every doubtful point of public business with the chances that, if unsuccessful in argument and fair showing, all hostile parties will unite and defeat the proposition.

This state of things is new, and not unattended both with discomfort and danger to the governing authorities, and in the existing circumstances of the country will be exceedingly difficult to manage or control.

We had a meeting yesterday in Lord Hill's¹ room—Hardinge,² Fitzroy,³ and me.

The state of things in the House, as before described by me, had its full weight upon Hardinge's mind, and he was anxious to throw out of his estimate any point which might create a doubtful discussion. I took occasion to state my opinion as nearly as possible in the following words: "It appears to me that the present temper of the House of Commons is such, that make what reductions you will, the House will consider them as forcibly made, not enough, and will endeavour to enforce

¹ The Commander-in-Chief.

² Sir Henry Hardinge, the Secretary at War. Afterwards created Viscount Hardinge, and Governor-General of India.

³ Lord Fitzroy Somerset, military secretary to Lord Hill. Afterwards Lord Raglan.

more; that such being my opinion, it seems to me to be our proper course to keep out of sight the House of Commons altogether in our present discussion, and to govern ourselves exclusively by what we think due to the interests of the military service."

This was acceded to, and our discussions were temperate, and our resolutions, I thought, unobjectionable.

No reduction is to be proposed in the number of our present force. The question of two majors of cavalry is to be confined to our own breasts for further consideration, and to the best mode of meeting it. There is to be some reduction amongst the assistants of the A.G. and Q.M.G. both at home and abroad, and unhappily this will fall on many individuals who can little afford it.

You will see from this outline, that nothing is to be expected from the Ministers or the House, or any exertion of Government authority; but that all must depend upon a fair showing of its own solidity.

This is quite a new state of things for the King's Government, and one which I for one do not like.

The question of numbers of our force must rest solely upon the principle on which I argued it in my paper, viz. if our force abroad is not larger than the demands upon it require, we have not more at home than are necessary for the maintenance and relief of such force, and for home duties; if our force abroad be too large we shall be eventually compelled to reduce our numbers. In my opinion, this question may be safely dismissed to our advantage.

I will now release you from this correspondence which may perhaps be well excused, both from the interest of the subject, the critical position of the times, and because it is not much my habit to inflict my erudities thus upon my friends.

Yours very affectionately,

J. W. G.

The second letter of Sir Willoughby's concerns the expenditure on the Colonies, and the inquiry proposed by the Chancellor of the Exchequer. He connects it with the up-keep of the Army and Navy, etc.

SIR J. WILLOUGHBY GORDON to SIR H. TAYLOR.

Niton: April 15th, 1830.

MY DEAR TAYLOR,

I enclose copy of a private letter from the Chancellor of the Exchequer with copy of my answer:—

Downing Street. April 12th, 1830.

MY DEAR SIR WILLOUGHBY,

You are aware that I some time since announced to the House of Commons the intention of the Government to appoint a Commission for the purpose of investigating Colonial expenditure.

In considering the several persons best qualified to undertake the task, my thoughts have naturally been directed to yourself. If you would lend your assistance in this matter it would be very conducive to the public advantage, for your knowledge of the subjects which will principally come under consideration, and your habits of accurate investigation, will both render the task light to yourself, and enable you to discharge it more beneficially to the public.

Permit me, therefore, to add your name to that of Lord Rosslyn,¹ the Knight of Kerry,² Lord Eliot and myself, as a coadjutor in the examination and reform of Colonial expenditure. You cannot, I believe, make any sacrifice of time more usefully to the public, and though it is a minor consideration, you cannot confer a greater obligation on myself than by accepting it.

Yours ever most truly,

HENRY GOULBURN.

Niton. April 14th, 1830:

MY DEAR MR. GOULBURN,

Your note on the 12th inst. has just reached me, and I beg to say that it can never but be acceptable to me, whenever you may think it necessary to add my name to anything agreeable to yourself, or useful to the Duke of Wellington's Government.

Yours faithfully,

J. W. G.

I think you will agree with me that to a request in such terms, and under circumstances so urgent and important, I could not as a public man, or indeed as a gentleman, give any other answer.

The Colonies as the scapegoat of expenditure.

The consequences of all this I see at this moment very clearly before me. The House of Commons and the public have their attention very closely fixed upon the state of our Colonies; they have been for years made the scapegoat of our expenditure, and when we are now called upon to explain the reasons for keeping up our present military establishment, our answer is—"the Colonies, the Colonies." There is no branch

¹ At this period Lord Privy Seal.

² Maurice Fitzgerald, the hereditary Knight of Kerry—Vice-Treasurer of Ireland.

of the public service which has not a drain upon its resources from the Colonies; the Navy, the Army, the Ordnance, the Treasury, all and each are largely drawn upon by the Colonies, through every department of which those great bodies are composed. The House of Commons have long been nibbling at this, and now they have made a bite; and the Government are no longer able to resist the inquiry.

Ministers have been compelled to give way, and they have thus commenced by making the inquiry their own, and conducting it under a Parliamentary Commission named by themselves.

From the tenor of Mr. Goulburn's letter to me, and from the names which he has given of the Commissioners, I see, or imagine that I see, what is intended, and where the labouring oar is to be placed.

I am not sure that Lord Rosslyn has ever been out of Europe, and the others I believe never have. The Knight of Kerry is a very old acquaintance of mine, and a more upright, fair, and honourable man does not exist. Lord Eliot I have an acquaintance with, and I like him, but he has no other knowledge of public business than what he has acquired as an attaché to our Minister in Spain. Besides, the public and Cabinet business of Lord Rosslyn and Mr. Goulburn will probably prevent them from giving a very close attention to such an inquiry as this.

I think I could suggest the names of two or three others who would be useful, and I shall see how the business stands, on my return to town on Tuesday. The Colonial Secretary should scarcely, I think, be a silent observer of such an inquiry—though I can easily imagine he may desire to keep clear of us.

A Commission to inquire into the expenditure of the Colonies with a view to reform it—a Parliamentary Commission with only one of the Commissioners who has ever been in the Colonies, or who has perhaps ever thought twice upon the subject of them! That the result of such an inquiry can be satisfactory to the House of Commons, or to the public, or to the Colonies, or to the many individuals who now derive an income from their revenues, or to the Commissioners themselves, I am not sanguine enough to expect. But that many exposures must be made, which may be very disagreeable to any Government, I am persuaded, and that no small share of abuse will fall to the lot of those whose disagreeable duty it is to lay them bare.

To the labour, and to the abuse, I make no objection, nor to any responsibility of any sort; my course in this business will be very straightforward, and exactly conformable to the instructions under which we may be empowered to act, which

must proceed, I suppose, either in the shape of a Resolution of the House of Commons, or as a command from the King through his Ministers; but I could have wished that the Commission had been more generally composed, and perhaps of greater numbers, and of men of greater weight in the country.

Yours very affectionately,

J. W. G.

CHAPTER XX

LETTERS AT THE TIME OF KING WILLIAM IV.'S ACCESSION

Sir R. Hussey Vivian—Sir Edward Disbrowe—General Sir C. W. Doyle—Lord Saltown—Major-General Macdonald—Count Münster's grievance.

Sir Brook Taylor's Mission to Gregory XVI.—Lady Sophia Sidney—Edward Taylor—Emily Taylor—Lady B.

IMMEDIATELY after the death of George IV. on June 26th, 1830, the new King, William IV., appointed Sir Herbert Taylor his Private Secretary.

“ Sir Herbert accepted the appointment with great reluctance, as he was very well pleased with the office of Adjutant-General, in which he was beginning to take great interest. He felt indeed that he was sacrificing domestic comfort, and probably his health too, in acceding to the King's wishes. But the King had offered the appointment in such a manner that he felt it impossible to refuse. He was aware that his task would be a difficult one, but he had laid down a straightforward line of conduct from which he never would deviate.”¹

The King wished him to be also his Privy Purse, but this he declined, although the acceptance of the additional office would have doubled his salary.

Sir Herbert was sent for to Bushy, where he remained some days. Upon their Majesties' removal to Windsor Castle, apartments were allotted to him and to Lady Taylor.

When the Court was at Brighton they had a house in the Garden of the Pavilion.

They were always treated (*in the words of Lady Taylor*) “ with the greatest kindness and consideration by the King and Queen, and were allowed to be as independent as it was possible to be in such a situation.”

SIR HUSSEY VIVIAN to SIR H. TAYLOR.

London. June 29th, 1830.

MY DEAR TAYLOR,

You recollect some time since I spoke to you on the subject of some appointment when the time came that I vacated

¹ Lady Taylor's Journal.

by promotion what I now hold.¹ That time is, it is understood, very near at hand.

If report speaks truth, that which you now hold will become vacant; and it is understood that there is some difficulty in fixing upon a successor. It may perhaps appear presumptuous on my part to put myself forth as a candidate. Nor would I for worlds do so if it were in any way to interfere with the interests of my friend Macdonald.

But if it be the case, as people will have it, that he is to go to some command, and that a new disposition of the Office is altogether to be made, perhaps I may not be considered as unworthy of filling the situation.

I have no long acquaintance with the details of duty as an Adjutant-General to plead in proof of my fitness; and I cannot but feel that I should be *very deficient as your successor*. But in this light who, let me ask, would not be so? And if zeal and anxiety for the service, if the practical experience of thirty-seven years, and if a love of employment are any recommendations, I venture to put them forth.

So now, my dear friend, having said this much, if, in the course of making the arrangements, you are at any loss, and for want of a better were to recollect me, I shall feel obliged.

But again, let me beg of you not to allow anything I have now said to interfere with my friend Macdonald.

I only address you supposing him to be otherwise provided for.

I am, my dear Taylor,
Most faithfully yours,
HUSSEY VIVIAN.

SIR EDWARD DISBROWE to SIR H. TAYLOR.

Ludwigsburg. July 6th, 1830.

MY DEAR TAYLOR,

The office
of Secretary
to the King.

I yesterday received yours of the 28th June, and I must say I rejoice more for the country at large than for you personally at the appointment you have accepted. It must always be gratifying to one's feeling to find that one's exertions are duly appreciated as they ought to be, but I am quite sure you have undertaken an Herculean task in these times, and I feel equally sure, take it all in all, there is not another man in the United Kingdom as fit for the arduous situation you now fill, and probably there is not another man who could undertake it at all.

I really hail the appointment as a happy omen as dictated by the best and properest feelings on the part of the King

¹ Referring to his situation as Inspector-General of Cavalry.

towards the memory of those who have preceded him, and as a proof he will meet the many storms with which he is surrounded with a firm but conciliatory disposition.

After the Prime Minister and perhaps the Leader of the House of Commons, I look on this as the most important post in the Empire. . . .

Politically we are all quiet here. I wish they talked less in Parliament, and wrote more from the F. O. on commerce; that would be very useful, I am sure.

I long to hear from you, if you have time.

Yours most affectionately,
E. C. DISBROWE.

Attending the late King's Funeral.

MAJOR-GENERAL SIR CHARLES W. DOYLE to SIR H. TAYLOR.

18, Welbeck Street. July 8th, 1830.

MY DEAR SIR HERBERT,

Allow me to ask, would it be deemed an intrusion, or might I attend the funeral of my late King? and thus pay the last tribute of affection and respect to the memory of my King, and, if I dare say so, my friend. I know you will forgive me for breaking in upon your time, occupied as you must be, but I feel so anxious upon the subject that I take this liberty.

Always, my dear Sir Herbert,
Sincerely yours,
C. W. DOYLE.

LORD SALTOWN to SIR H. TAYLOR.

1, Gt. Cumberland Street. July 9th, 1830.

MY DEAR SIR HERBERT,

Having received a letter from Erroll in which he states in answer to one of mine that His Majesty directs that I would attend the funeral of the late King as A.D.C., I shall be much obliged to you as chief A.D.C., if you will let me know in what dress we are to go, for, as we have four, it is as well that we should have some order on the subject.

I write now, as I am going, in the beginning of the week, out of town, and should like to have everything correct before I go.

Yours very truly,
SALTOWN.

Taylor's Successor at the Horse Guards.

MAJOR-GENERAL MACDONALD to SIR H. TAYLOR.

Horse Guards. July 8th, 1830.

MY DEAR TAYLOR,

I was in the act of beginning a letter to you when your note of this morning made its appearance. I am, indeed, my dear Taylor, unable to express what I feel towards the King for His Majesty's most gracious and flattering reception of me yesterday, a reception which, in every respect, greatly exceeded my expectations.

Accept yourself, my dear Taylor, the collective and heartiest gratitude of my family for your *magnificent* support during the late trying occasion.

You must have seen yesterday, in my every feature, and in my every expression, that towards you personally I felt gratitude unbounded, and I never once forgot what I owed to your mediation, and undeviating and disinterested support.

You know, my dear Taylor, how often and how zealously I pressed you to remain here, and how sincerely I assured you that no ambitious feeling of mine could ever make up, in my mind, for the risk which I uniformly foresaw I should run, in wishing to change such a chief and such a colleague.¹ God send that the change (now that it is inevitable) may prove a source of comfort and of pride to Lady Taylor and to you.

I flatter myself that I know mankind thoroughly well by this time, and that I can, therefore, estimate as well as my neighbours, the delicacy and difficulty of your new situation—these are, and must be frequently, all but overwhelming, but your temper, steadiness, and inflexible rectitude and love of truth will triumphantly surmount them, and all will end honourably and prosperously in your case.

A friend and great admirer of yours and one of my oldest and most attached friends was discussing you this morning with me; his expression was most forcible and most true—viz. "Taylor's situation is unknown to the Constitution,"² and

¹ Macdonald had been acting as Deputy Adjutant-General since 1820.

² This statement may seem to be inaccurate, as Taylor had held the same office under George III. The two situations, however, were not quite analogous.

In 1805 he was recommended by the Prime Minister for the office of King's Secretary solely because the monarch was becoming rapidly blind. The King's official correspondence could no longer have been conducted without an appointment of this nature. And at that time the clouds in the political atmosphere were (broadly speaking) Napoleonic rather than domestic; political partisanship in the country—though certainly not in abeyance—could in no way compare with the state of public feeling and restlessness when the Duke of Clarence ascended the throne in 1830.

In the interval of twenty-five years that had elapsed between Taylor's two

in other hands, would not be borne by the country, but in his hands it is literally hallowed, and will consequently be not merely borne, but hailed by every one who wishes well to the King and to the public service." This is your friend Hammersley's opinion, and I leave you to guess whether I heartily concurred in it, or no. . . .

In one's old days it is gratifying and important to show one's offspring the value which they ought to attach to *manliness* and *truth*, and the estimation in which these qualities are held by their sire when found in others.

God bless you. Ever affectionately,
JOHN MACDONALD.

P.S.—Give yourself no concern about your horses, I shall lean upon our friend Whyte, who will assuredly render us valuable assistance at the sale.

J. M.

MAJOR-GENERAL MACDONALD to SIR H. TAYLOR.

Horse Guards. July 10th, 1830.

MY DEAR TAYLOR,

There never were truer sayings than that "what is every man's business is no man's business," and that "too many cooks spoil the broth."

I conclude that what with His Majesty's own activity and other circumstances connected with the new reign which are totally new, we shall have frequent orders from His Majesty upon points connected with the Army.

I need not observe to you that, come when they may, all such orders will take instantaneous effect and obtain circulation with perfect facility, provided you send them to the General Commanding-in-Chief in a properly arranged and digested shape, and that every man here is allowed his own proper share of them for circulation.

You are the only officer in the King's service that ever thought of defining in the most minute, precise, and detailed shape the duties of the respective Military Departments; and as your definition is, in its every part and particle, clear and unanswerable, it were presumption in me, or in any other person, to attempt to *school* you now, as to the nature of those duties, or as to the mode of executing them. I may, however, my dear Taylor, frankly remind you, that situated and circumstanced as

appointments many questions connected with the internal affairs of the country were closing in, and were urgently demanding solution or debate. Reform was in the air. People were ready to fight for it or—to vehemently oppose it.

In these times the influence of an untried or less conscientious secretary might have been fatal to the best interests of the nation.

you are, it will be greatly, if not fully, in your power to send forth the King's military orders under their proper Departmental Heads, a course which (as you must see) will be highly advantageous to Lord Hill,¹ and to the Regimental Departments, inasmuch as his Lordship will at once be enabled to hand over to the officer to whose Department the subject belongs such memoranda as are marked for his Department *by you*.

On these occasions Lord Hill will of course give the Head of the Department to which the subject of the memoranda belongs, such further explanations and orders, touching the King's views, as his Lordship shall deem necessary.

We shall thus have no clashing or grasping at things that do not properly belong to us; no jealousies, no delays, no irregularities. . . .

Do you remember that during the whole time of the Duke of Wellington's command of the Army there never was so much as a solitary instance of his having referred to one Department a subject (trivial or important) that justly belonged to another. There can be no doubt that His Grace's thorough knowledge of the mode of conducting the business of the Army has been a most powerful auxiliary to him throughout his glorious career, and I feel quite assured that no man, be his rank and talents what they may, can ever govern an Army effectually or satisfactorily unless he confines every officer under his orders to the strict limits of his duty, and peremptorily forbids the interference of one Department with another.

In my heart I believe that there does not exist a man that is fonder of regularity in every department of life than Lord Hill, and I feel confident that if his attention is called to this subject (which I would gladly avoid doing if possible) he will give every Department that share of his confidence and support which is justly due at his hands; but at this moment I am apprehensive that his Lordship does not attach that importance to it which you must see it demands, and hence my desire to make a regular beginning, and to carry him along with me, whilst I zealously and diligently follow that course. . . .

In conclusion I shall only add that no Head of a Department has a right to send an official memoranda bearing his own signature to the Head of another Department *in the shape of an order from the General Commander-in-Chief* except upon a subject which originated *properly* with his own Department, and which he has already acted upon, as far as he had a right to act. This I lay down as a *general* and *immutable* principle in the conduct of military business, but if I am wrong in whole or part of my principle, pray believe I shall cheerfully abide your correction.

Instead of going to church, I came down here to commune with you upon these points, which indeed I intrude upon you

¹ The Commander-in-Chief.

with sincere regret, well knowing how busy and hampered you must be at this moment.

Yours affectionately,
JOHN MACDONALD.

The Hanoverian Minister in London.

At the time of writing the following letter Count Münster had for many years been the Hanoverian Minister in London. Here he lays before the King certain grievances in regard to his own status and that of the Duke of Cambridge. It may be as well to recall the position held by H.R.H. in Hanover. Early in 1814 the Duke took over the military command in the Electorate of Hanover; but after the treaty of Vienna in the following October had changed the electorate into a kingdom, he was in 1816 appointed Governor-General, retaining that position until 1837, when the connection of Hanover with the sovereignty of Great Britain was severed.

COUNT MÜNSTER to KING WILLIAM IV.

Runnymede. September 4th, 1830.

SIRE,

The most respectful confidence I place in the sincerity of your Majesty's wish to do justice to every one of your servants and subjects emboldens me most humbly to solicit your attention to the observations on my official conduct which your Majesty was induced to make, during the audience granted me on the 19th August, on some complaints brought against me by His Royal Highness the Duke of Cambridge.

After having spent forty-two years in the public service, and having occupied, for more than twenty-five years, what was hitherto considered the most important station in our country,¹ that of Cabinet Minister about the person of the Sovereign—having made it the object of my life to execute my duty to the best of my power—I find myself, at this moment, the only individual in your Majesty's service who appears to have incurred your displeasure, when all other public functionaries have, indiscriminately, obtained precious marks of general approbation!

I should be unworthy of the favour formerly shown me by the Sovereigns I have had the good fortune to serve, if I had not deeply felt this humiliating distinction, and if I did not endeavour to justify my past conduct. I feel the more bound humbly to attempt this task, since it will, at the same time, enable me to submit to your Majesty's consideration some

¹ Hanover.

observations essential to the service of your Majesty's German dominions.

The chief
duty of
the Hano-
verian
Minister
in
London.

The chief duty developing on the person filling the position I hold has ever been to consider all reports made by the Hanoverian authorities to the Sovereign; to lay their contents before him; to explain, if necessary, everything required for their being completely understood; as, for instance, the previous correspondence to which the reports may refer, and finally to state his own humble opinion as to the answers to be returned. Hitherto I must consider myself not merely justified, but in duty bound to act according to the *established* rule; and my conduct has been approved.

It depends naturally on the will and pleasure of the Sovereign, whenever an humble opinion, differing from the proposal made in the report from Hanover, should be submitted, to decide for or against the original proposition. The decision once given is the *King's*, not the Minister's; (who, however, remains responsible to His Majesty for the advice he may have thought it his duty to give).

The appointment of His Royal Highness the Duke of Cambridge as Governor-General of Hanover had hitherto not altered the official situation of the Hanoverian Minister in London. His Royal Highness was originally invested merely with the command of the Army and with the representation at Court. When His Royal Highness afterwards expressed a wish for a participation in the Civil Government, His late Majesty determined that His Royal Highness should in future preside in the Cabinet (the direction of the business being, however, left to the Senior Minister present) and enjoy a vote, the *same* as the Cabinet Ministers, with the *exception* of such questions in which law points are to be considered, in which His Royal Highness takes no part.

The late King *was not inclined* to grant to the Royal Duke a more decisive influence over his Council in Hanover. I mention this circumstance because His Royal Highness alluded, when with me, to proposals made by the Governor-General in Council. This expression might induce a belief that the powers hitherto vested in the Royal Duke were equal to those which, for instance, a Governor-General of India enjoys, who is authorized to act on his own responsibility even against the advice of the Council. Supposing that it might please your Majesty to extend for the future the power of His Royal Highness, such new regulation ought not, in my humble opinion, to subject my past conduct to reproach, nor should such extended power alter in any way the official duty of the Hanoverian Minister in London, for the King's decisions must remain paramount to every other power; and how could the Sovereign come unassisted to a decision, unless he had leisure to devote the

attention and the study to the proposals made by Government which it is the duty of the Minister to devote to it? If the Minister should be restricted to merely stating the proposal of Government, or to recommend every person selected for filling official situations, his task would become very easy, but it would be that of a mere clerk, and what is of more importance, the decision of the Sovereign would soon be looked upon as a mere formality! This ought undoubtedly to be avoided, particularly in a country whose Sovereign resides in the British Empire.

Every time His Highness the Duke of Cambridge has come to England I have had to undergo a discussion on this very same point. I have every time repeated the arguments which convinced me that a different mode of proceeding would be objectional; and the late King has ever refused to consent to an alteration.

I can assert that on an average perhaps forty-nine decisions have been given in conformity with the proposals made by Government, to one in which the King has refused or modified his assent; and I challenge any man to adduce a case in which I could not successfully undertake to prove the correctness of the objections I have thought it my duty to state to the King.

As a proof that I have not endeavoured to increase my legal influence, or patronage, with regard to official appointments, I beg leave to remind H.R.H. the Duke of Cambridge that it was on my proposal that at present the selection of persons to fill many important offices are left to be recommended to the King by the Hanoverian Government, which formerly were *exclusively* in the hands of the Minister in London; that further, all reports from the Superior Boards—for instance, the Chamber of Finance, the War Office, and the Court—were formerly directed to the King without being previously submitted to the Cabinet in Hanover. By this the Minister in London was the man who alone could possess the information required to submit to his Sovereign a general view of the whole of the Administration. It is I who have proposed that all reports, with the sole exception of matters relating to the command of the Army, should be laid before the Council of Hanover and be forwarded with their report to the King.

It is after having thus given up but too much of the patronage and influence belonging to my office, that the objection I have raised against the appointment of a Secretary of the Chamber of Finance (Mr. Frankenfeld), recommended to become a Member to the very Board to which he had been a Secretary, appears to have been so keenly felt by His Royal Highness and for which I am now arraigned, although I could prove that His late Majesty's objections against the proposal were more explicit than mine.

After having stated the above-mentioned arguments in my

defence your Majesty informed me that you should in future proceed with great caution in such cases.

Nothing could be more gratifying to me than to have my reports carefully weighed. I should not have uttered another word on this subject if what took place afterwards had not, in my humble opinion, conveyed a different meaning of your Majesty's intentions.

I allude to the proposals made by H.R.H. the Duke of Cambridge, of about thirty nominations for the Hanoverian Order, after your Majesty had but just agreed to a numerous list proposed by the Hanoverian Government *with* the concurrence of His Royal Highness.

Your Majesty declared that I had been very wrong in reducing those last proposals to twelve, and was pleased to order me to have all the other proposals equally granted—without deigning to call for an explanation on the objections I had submitted to the Duke of Cambridge.

Your Majesty's commands have been obeyed. But now I must, in justice to myself, humbly solicit your Majesty's attention to the following facts.

The late King did not permit the Hanoverian Government to propose to him members for the Order. Whenever a nomination has been wished for, such wish has been confidentially communicated to me, in my capacity of Chancellor of the Order, to consider if it would be proper to submit such a recommendation to the King.

The same mode has been adopted with the above-mentioned proposals from the Hanoverian Government.

The Duke's *last* list of thirty was by no means conveyed by His Royal Highness in a paper directed to *your Majesty*, but in a private note *to me*, with the express desire that I should examine the list and meet His Royal Highness at Windsor Castle previous to the audience I was to have from your Majesty, in order to consult on the proposals to be submitted to you. I obeyed this summons, and had the most friendly conversation with His Royal Highness, during which I at first stated that I had found your Majesty disposed to limit the nominations of Knights to avoid the natural consequence of an over-issue. I then drew His Royal Highness's attention to some objections I had to state against some of the nominations to be proposed.

His Royal Highness received my remonstrances in a friendly manner, and it was with *his concurrence* that the reductions of the above-mentioned list to twelve individuals took place. Immediately after this I had the honour to lay this list before your Majesty, and obtained your Royal assent, after *having mentioned* generally what had taken place on this subject between the Royal Duke and myself. If my objections

to some of His Royal Highness's proposals had been confined merely to infractions of the Statutes of the Order, the difficulty would have been overcome by the dispensation to be granted by the Sovereign. Yet my objections were of a more serious nature. Several of the new nominations will, no doubt, produce a *very bad* effect in the country. Of the Grand Crosses the one has been bestowed to a man already *too much* favoured, having been appointed to preside over the Supreme Tribunal of Justice in the Kingdom, although he was so much addicted to gambling that he had ruined his fortune by it! He does not enjoy the degree of consideration which ought to belong to a man in his situation.

The other on whom the Grand Cross was bestowed, Mr. de Schulte, is a man of talent. Your Majesty knows what ideas are entertained of his morality. Of late he has been justly *reprimanded* for not having adhered to the regulations prescribed by His late Majesty for the management of the business of the Chamber of Finance over which he presides!

As to the other nominations, several of them might create the impression that their choice has been guided rather by the favour the individuals accidentally enjoy than by their merit. . . . This is sufficient to create an unpleasant feeling in the whole of the High Tribunal.

To conclude; I must speak out. The present discussion originates from the circumstance of it having been found out that after a lapse of more than six years His late Majesty's regulations as to the mode of conducting the public business by the different Boards had been but imperfectly obeyed.

On this being noticed, and an explanation demanded by His late Majesty, this explanation was given in a manner which could not be deemed satisfactory.

The regulations to which I allude were the result of the mature deliberations of a committee assembled by the late King in London during the year 1822. His Royal Highness the Duke of Cambridge, who was a member of that committee, fully concurred in the measures proposed to and approved by the King, and he promised he should take care to have them put into execution.

I do not intend to complain against the Royal Duke for not having accomplished this task. His Royal Highness has too many other occupations on his hands to enter into inquiries respecting the management of the public business on those Boards of which he is not a member. But, on the other hand, the Ministers ought not to have neglected their duty in this respect, for it was of great importance to put a stop to the paramount influence which the subalterns had gained by their former position, and which, by the just mentioned *neglect*, they have found means partly to retain.

The late King, foreseeing the difficulties which have arisen, had ordered "that no personal consideration whatsoever should impede the execution of his commands."

Supposing, however, that any sound argument could have been raised against their being executed, it would then have been proper to lay such doubts before the King without loss of time—His Majesty having repeatedly declared that, whenever remonstrances against his commands had not been timely made, he might expect them to have been duly put into execution.

Concern-
ing the
conduct of
business
in the
Chamber
of
Finance.

There was at the same time, when the above-mentioned fact came to light, another omission discovered, which I consider to be of great importance. The Chamber of Finance, or of the Domaines, superintends the administration of half the revenue of the Kingdom. Of course, the manner in which the business is there conducted has a great influence, not merely on the finances, but also on the welfare of a great number of subjects.

Formerly, several of the Ministers were obliged to attend at every sitting of the Chamber of Finance. This caused them a great loss of time, for, in many of the sittings, mere matters of form and of little importance were transacted. The Ministers, by the regulations of 1822, were exonerated from this daily attendance, but it was ordained that the Minister of Finance should constantly communicate with the President of the Chamber of the Domaines, in order to be informed when a subject of importance should be discussed, and that he might then assist at the sitting.

I am sorry to say that this order has been *habitually set aside!* Communications in writing from one Board to another, which have been resorted to, could, of course, *not* make up for this neglect!

The late King has expressed his disapprobation at these omissions. . . .

I repeat that I do not cast any blame on His Royal Highness for not doing what his situation in life does not enable him to do; but the facts mentioned prove that the hands of the Minister, near the person of the King, ought *not* to be tied up—he being *alone* enabled by a careful control to draw His Majesty's attention to the due performance of the public business.

I have foreseen that His Royal Highness, becoming a member of the Cabinet, would screen the Ministers from responsibility, and this the event has proved. I did not expect, however, that the *two persons* on whom the lately discovered neglect chiefly falls, would be at this moment distinguished by marks of especial favour of their Sovereign.

Facts like these are apt to prove so derogatory to the Royal Authority in the country that it must deprive me of the hope

of being able to render my humble services in future as useful to our country as I hope they have hitherto proved to be. I say the *Royal Authority*, for I have no other to exercise than by the commands of the Sovereign.

There is another consideration which must weigh on my mind at this particular time, when we are menaced by the dangers of another revolution in France. During the revolutionary crisis, from the year 1801 to the period of the restoration of public tranquillity and order, I have happily been enabled to gain considerable advantages for Hanover. I could not have succeeded if I had not then possessed the entire confidence of my Royal Master. I have at present to lament that I appear not to possess that most valuable benefit, which alone could ensure success to my exertions.

Under such circumstances, I must consider it a painful duty to express my sincere conviction and regret, that my humble endeavours could not for the future continue to be of sufficient advantage to your Majesty's service to justify my continuing to hold for an indefinite time my present situation. I am, however, fully aware that a sudden change would, on account of the present state of our Cabinet, be detrimental to the public service. I therefore beg leave most humbly to propose to your Majesty that you would be graciously pleased to consider, during the ensuing season, what future arrangements you may determine upon, and when they shall be completed, perhaps towards next spring, permit me to retire from the service. I flatter myself that my past conduct may be considered a sufficient pledge that I shall never cease to be most devotedly attached to your Majesty's sacred person, and to the real interests of your German Dominions.

I am, with the highest veneration, Sir,

Your Majesty's

Most humble and most devoted subject and servant,

MÜNSTER.

LETTERS FROM SIR BROOK TAYLOR—1831.

Sir Brook Taylor had held various high diplomatic appointments, and in the summer of this year, 1831, had been sent by the Government on a diplomatic mission to the Pope—Gregory XVI.

Relating to this mission, the following extract is from the Greville memoirs:—

“*June 19th, 1831.*—Aubin, who was to have acted in “*Hernani*” before the Queen on Wednesday next, is suddenly gone off to Rome as attaché to Brook Taylor, who is there

negotiating. Taylor happened to be in Italy, and they sent him there, some doubts existing whether they could by law send a diplomatic agent to negotiate with the Pope; but it was referred to Denman, who said there was no danger. He is not accredited, and bears no official character; but it is a regular mission."

SIR BROOK TAYLOR to SIR H. TAYLOR.

Rome. April 24th, 1831.

MY DEAR HERBERT,

I will no longer delay writing to you, although it may still be some days before I can send off my messenger with the news I have been anxious to give of a more favourable amnesty from the Pope than that which had been published the day preceding my arrival here.

I do not indeed expect much good to be done here, as the priesthood is much too powerful, and seem determined to keep everything in their own hands.

I arrived here on the 15th, and was joined by Mr. Mandeville¹ on the 19th. I had, however, written immediately to William Northey² also, to beg his assistance, and he came yesterday from Naples. We are all well lodged in the same hotel, and the weather has hitherto been very favourable, but I confess I am very much afraid of the approaching hot weather.

I have fortunately found some of my Naples acquaintances here, as well as one or two other English families whom I had left at Rome, but who are now talking of going.

Your friend Vesey FitzGerald is here, and Lord Hertford is expected daily on his way to England. The latter has, I understand, sent you some vases for your garden. By the by, Mr. Meli has no costumes left in his shop, but I have other drawings of his, principally caricatures, which I will share with you as soon as I get to Regent's Park.

I must refer you to my official correspondence for news.

Rome. June 14th, 1831.

I have been waiting anxiously for the arrival of a messenger from England, and if he does not arrive very soon, I shall hardly know how to proceed in my business here.

In the mean time, however, the heat of Rome is becoming quite intolerable, so that I have determined to start to-morrow morning with Mandeville and W. Northey for Albano to establish ourselves there for a week. We are assured that we shall find it cooler and the air better. Our messenger can follow us there.

¹ His attaché until the arrival of Mr. Aubin.

² His nephew, the son of his sister Charlotte.

I have no letters to acknowledge at this moment, nor any news to send you from hence which is not contained in my dispatches, so adieu.

Rome. July 2nd, 1831.

I have to thank you for your very affectionate letter of the 22nd May which was delivered to me only three days ago by Mr. Aubin, sent here to relieve Mr. Mandeville. The latter sets out to-morrow evening with William Northey for Naples, where he may find some conveyance to Malta on his way to Constantinople.

William, I could, of course, no longer allow to keep away from his dear little wife. He will, however, as you may guess, be a great loss to me. Mandeville and I were also going on very well together, and I believe he would not have been sorry to have continued here to the end of our negotiations.

The choice of Mr. Aubin in his stead is, as far as I can judge, a very good one. He was over fifteen years private secretary and attaché to Lord Burghersh, and the only person he ever employed, and knows all the forms of office perfectly, with the advantage also here of being a very good Italian scholar.

You will, however, perhaps be surprised that with the exception of the dispatch announcing his appointment, I have not received a line from the office.

If you had not noticed my proceedings in the kind manner you have done as to the feeling of the Government towards me, I should not even know whether any part of my correspondence had ever reached home. I am quite aware indeed that our Ministers have their hands full without our Roman negotiations, and that there may also be *reasons* for not giving me any further instructions, and I do not therefore at all complain of their silence. I shall, however, consider myself most fortunate if I get to the end of this business out of all scrapes.

I still hope that before the end of this month I may be enabled to leave Rome—in other words, that although we may not obtain all we have demanded, as much will be granted as we can reasonably expect (perhaps very shortly), and if I afterwards remain long enough to be sure of the departure of the Austrians from Bologna I think I may safely take my departure.

My health has been better lately, but the heat is too great in the morning even at 6 or 7 o'clock to ride or walk; and William and I have therefore since our return from Albano taken our rides in the evening when the air is cooler.

I feel grateful to you for the account you have given me of the state of affairs at home before the meeting of Parliament, and need not tell you how anxious I feel that the question of the Reform may soon be settled without the apprehended danger of a collision between the two Houses. Pray address

Mr. Aubin.
The coming Reform Bill.

your next letter under cover to Foster at Turin, and beg the Skelmersdales to do the same. Their letters by Mr. Aubin are also of a very old date. This will be conveyed from hence in the course of a couple of days by a messenger going by a French steamboat from Civita Vecchia to Toulon.

Rome. July 8th, 1831.

The dispatch which I send to-day by the messenger Haviland will show that I am very near the end of my labours. I shall be very anxious to hear that the step I have taken by the official letter I have written to Mr. Paske is not disapproved.

The danger of a rupture between the rival Powers is, I think, greater than that of fresh commotions in Italy.¹ If no very unexpected event occurs to derange my plans I reckon on leaving Rome towards the end of the month, and I beg you at all events to send your next letters under cover to Mr. Foster.

My wish is to pass a few days at Turin, and to establish myself afterwards in some watering-place in Germany for three weeks to take the Marienbad waters. The heat is excessive here at present, but there has been much less scirocco or mall'aria lately than in May and the beginning of June, and I have consequently been much better.

To-morrow's post will, I hope, bring me some account of the first debates upon the Reform, which I pray may end satisfactorily.

Ever most affectionately,

B. T.

P.S.—Pray take an opportunity to inform Lord Palmerston that he has sent me an excellent secretary in the person of Mr. Aubin.

Lady Sophia Sydney.

Lady Sophia Sidney was a FitzClarence—one of the daughters of William IV. The following note was written at the time of the Coronation.

LADY SOPHIA SIDNEY to SIR HERBERT TAYLOR.

Tunbridge Wells. July 31st, 1831.

MY DEAR SIR HERBERT,

Many thanks for your kind letter, and for the interest you so amiably express for us. I cannot, however, conceal

¹ Soon after Gregory XVI. had been elected, insurrections had taken place in the Papal States; and there was considerable popular excitement all through Italy. This was only suppressed by means of Austrian intervention.

from you that we are both *disappointed*, as we had hoped that the Coronation would have afforded to the King an opportunity of complying with our wishes, without any reference whatever to *political sentiments*, or *opinions*, and that, on that *one* occasion, he might have obeyed the dictates of his own *kind* feelings, unbiassed by any other consideration. As it is, my dear Sir Herbert, we leave our case in your hands, and are most grateful to you, for having advocated it, relying on your kindness to bring the subject again before the King, should any opportunity present itself of forwarding our wishes, unfettered by that sacrifice of principle and opinion, which we both think is too high a price to pay for any advantage whatever.

I lament to hear that my dear Papa has not been quite well; I am always anxious about him, and ten times more so when absent from him.

It is very kind of you to have given me *de ses nouvelles* and I sincerely hope all trace of indisposition has passed away.

Adieu, dear Sir Herbert, and believe me ever,

Yours most sincerely,

SOPHIA SIDNEY.

A Family Letter.

EDWARD TAYLOR to SIR H. TAYLOR.

Brussels. September 23rd, 1831.

MY DEAR HERBERT,

I quite agree with you in all the kind advice you give me, and the observations you make upon the present doubtful state of things here. I am, at the same time, much inclined to think we shall not have a renewal of the war this winter.

That Brussels will be dull for Louisa¹ and Emily¹ I cannot doubt, and I should wish them to stay in England, where I will join them in your delightful house as soon as I can. . . .

You will find our dear brother Brook looking particularly well. . . . Had he been in strong health, he would have been much more fit for the troublesome post here than Sir R. A., who, *entre nous*, is considerably *passé*. He is, however, attended by two very efficient persons, Lord Wm. Russell and Mr. Fox. Sir George H. does not give me the idea of a man of ability, but he is very gentlemanlike and good tempered.

I have made an attempt (as Brook will tell you) to let this house to Sir Robert, or to Lord W. R. for six months, and should

¹ His wife and youngest daughter—at that time on a visit to Sir Herbert and Lady Taylor.

have been satisfied with £200, which should have included a winter's provision of wood and coals, but Sir R. was already in treaty for a house in the Park, very inferior to this, which he is to pay £40 a month for, and will be obliged to hire rooms elsewhere for his servants.

Unless a gentleman of the embassy took this, it is very improbable my being able to let it at all; and my chief object would be to place it in safe hands.

How kind you and your dear wife have been to Louisa and Emily! I cannot express how much I feel obliged to you. . . .

Remember me with much affection to all, and believe me,
Ever your affectionate brother,

E. T.

A Sunday at Windsor Castle.

EMILY TAYLOR to her Sister, THE HON. MRS. JAMES KNOX.

Windsor Castle. September 26th, 1831.

I cannot, my dearest Mary, send you the enclosed without adding a few lines to acquaint you of our gay doings since my last letter, although, to tell you the truth, I am heartily glad they are now over.

We arrived here on Saturday evening, and our lodging is a beautiful little cottage belonging to one of Princess Augusta's pages.

On Sunday we breakfasted with my uncle and aunt, and after church went over the castle, and walked to Adelaide Cottage and Frogmore, etc., with Lord Brougham, Uncle H., and Edward Wilbraham.¹ Mama has quite lost her heart to the Chancellor. I believe she admires the motion of his nose when speaking.

Very fortunately for us we met the Queen during our walk, when she spoke to us all, which greatly relieved me of my anticipated fears of a formal presentation before dinner.

The dinner party consisted of twenty-two people only, and as, luckily, I got placed between Edward Wilbraham and Lord Brougham I did very well. The latter was the only person who separated me from Her Majesty.

His Majesty was graciously pleased to ask me to drink a glass of wine with him, which I could have excused, for it made me get so red.

After dinner, till the gentlemen came out, I made Miss Wilson (one of the Queen's ladies) my victim, and stuck by her till the gentlemen made their appearance, when we were

¹ Second son of Lord Skelmersdale.



EDWARD TAYLOR, OF BIFRONS.

1774—1843.

supplied with prints, which we examined until half-past eleven.

So much for a Sunday evening at Court. Every other evening they have music. About 10 o'clock I thought you perhaps were reading my last letter, little suspecting where I was at the moment.

In about half an hour we are going to the Virginia Waters; the weather is rather unfavourable. Mama is anxious to go, having no other opportunity of seeing them, as we return to town again to-morrow.

Adieu, my very, very dearest Mary. I cannot tell you how often I wish you were with me.

Edward W. and I drank your health at dinner yesterday. Give my love to James, and a thousand kisses to my own pet, Em,¹ and believe me,

Your ever and always most affectionate

EMILY.

In concluding this chapter I may say that the year in which the following literary composition was penned is not given; it was probably 1831, or at any rate during the reign of William IV.

The authoress was the daughter of a well-known Peer. Far be it from me to unravel the *nom de plume* under which she so modestly hide her identity. "Mr. Snip" is of course Sir Herbert Taylor.

LADY B— to MR. SNIP.

Hammer-smith. Aprill 27th.

SIR,

I write thes fur lines hopping your well, as I am at present because you mistuk my meening, for Mr. Snip I did not think the King would go to buy the picturs, for I kno his honor, that is, I beg pardon, His Majesty, has store of old-fashioned picturs allredy,—i saw a sight of 'em at Hamten Cort—Ladys with long laffing eyes, and Biblefolks and heethen people slaying and slashing, and Lawyers in ther big wigs on prancing horses ordering solgiers, and many of 'em hid on the ground for want of nales to hang 'em up. The raisin Mister Snip why I sente you a Letter was, because an outlandish frenchman came to me with a Letter all about himself and his own prase. and he sed he was a painter and a bellgiant, which I take to be

¹ Mrs. Knox's small child—afterwards the wife of Robert Dundas of Arniston.

some new trade—he comes up to me bowing-like in a bran new coat and stairing black eyes, and after some palaver, says he, “Maime do you like picturs?” “Yes sir” says I, “and as a token, there you may see the pictur of the Babes in the wood, and the long song with it pind agenst the curten, and, says I, ther is the most butifullest pictur nere here sure, that ever was seen.” “What of?” says he. “Why the King’s hed in a blu cote God bless him” says I. “and were is it?” says he. “Why at the turn of the street” says I, “Just where you may see in large letters—*spiritus Lickers sold here*—and if you look up, you will see it hanging over your hed.” I beleeve when he herd this he was jelous in the way of trade, for he bounced round, and flung down my hussif and my scissors, but he pict up my needles agen all but one which ran into my foot that same blessed night, and so after that he began agen. “Maime” says he, “do you ever see grete Lords?” “Yes sir,” says I, “I see grete Lords and little lords and all sorts of things sometimes.” “Then” says he, “say to some of them Lords to walk to Finsberry terrace to see my picturs”; “they cant,” says I, “for reason of their tight boots,” which made him set off again with his gibberish for ever so long, and he talked a deal of *Raffels* which I fancy is the way he wishes to sell, and I thought he semed to think a Raffel a very particular fine thing, and praps it may be in his country but deery me! I have seen many a one at fairs for Lollypops. Well Mister Snip to be sure but I was glad to see the back of him going away, tho he was very mity civil and made all manner of bows and congees, and then I thought I’d write to you as you kno so many Lords and have taken the measure of some and can advise some to go and get painted, and see the picturs—they all come from Rom and Maples, and the Kings and Queens in those countrys all very loving and kind to him.—I thank you Mister Snip for answering me, I could not read the hole of yr. letter because of the hard words, and so I dont kno what Ld. Farnboro is seeing I could not spell it.—but as to your telling of me that you are the King’s man in his senses, why Mister Snip I never sed you was out of ’em to my noledge—so give my loving servis to Madam Snip and I hope she dont take too much potticarys stuff.

your respected servant til deth

CHARLOTTE LITANCHAMP.

When you see that Ostrich you mention, pray talk to him of my solgier lad! He is far away and I daresay by this time is a figting with turks and hinfirdels like any Dragon of Wanteley, the more sorrow to me his poor lone mother!

CHAPTER XXI

1832

THE PASSING OF THE REFORM BILL AND THE SUGGESTED CREATION OF PEERS

“GENERALLY speaking,” wrote Lord Brougham, “it must be said William IV. was an excellent man of business—unlike his brother, who would ask no questions for fear of showing his ignorance—or his father, who ran on with too many, and would not wait for answers. He asked as many as were required to let him fully understand whatever was brought before him, and gave his own views with perfect candour and fairness; nor was he the least impatient of contradiction, but on the contrary, rather courted it, in order that he might come to a full understanding with his Ministers.

“One circumstance of a trifling nature was yet very characteristic of his honesty; he generally sat opposite to the light, so that you might see the expression of his countenance—he never having anything to conceal, or any part to play. We had but few serious differences during the first ten months. . . .

“The assistance he derived on all occasions from Sir Herbert Taylor was of the greatest value both to him and to his Ministers from the excellent and useful talents, the high honour, and the strict integrity of that worthy man, who at critical moments did not hesitate to do acts which involved him in great responsibility; on one occasion especially, when he wrote a kind of circular to some of the most violent Opposition Peers, informing them that Grey¹ and I had received in writing the King’s promise of an unlimited creation of Peers to pass the Reform Bill. He named no names, but said the power existed in writing, and was in such hands as he knew would use it. . . . Great complaints were made of Sir H. Taylor for having used the King’s name to intimidate the Lords. In truth, he only gave them fair notice of the risk they ran—that what every one must believe to be a serious, perhaps an irreparable mischief to the Constitution might be avoided. . . .

¹ Lord Grey, the Prime Minister.

“The same persons, being strongly prejudiced against him from his long-continued connection with one King after another, had foretold, when we came into office, that we should find him faithful and even friendly on most occasions, possibly on important ones; but that when any great crisis happened, he would make an exception. They little knew the man; and the most important crisis of all—the most unexpected—showed it more strongly than any other.”¹

Taylor's circular note was indeed the final argument that brought matters to a climax by inducing the Anti-Reform Peers to withdraw any further opposition to the Bill.

It was not, however, issued without the authority of the King, as seems to have been imagined.

But before dealing with any letters relating to the creation of Peers, I will quote some remarks by Henry, Earl Grey,² which give a fair idea of the position in which Sir H. Taylor found himself during the constant communications that took place between the King and his Prime Minister:—

“Very few of the King's letters are in his own handwriting. This arose from the difficulty he had in writing, owing to a rheumatic affection in his hand. His Majesty's letters were generally written for him, from his verbal instructions, by his private secretary, Sir Herbert Taylor, and he signed them after they had been read over to him and approved. A large portion of them, however, it will be observed were addressed to or written by Sir H. Taylor, but these letters are in fact no less a part of the correspondence between the King and my father (Earl Grey) than those which are so in form as well as in substance.

“My father's letters, which were intended for the King's information, were often addressed to Sir H. Taylor, because they could be written in less time, and with somewhat greater freedom than when the formal style had to be used, which was invariably adopted by his confidential servants in writing to the King himself.

“These letters, as Sir Herbert mentions more than once, were always shown to the King; in answering them the same form was naturally adopted, and Sir Herbert wrote in his own name; but except in a very few instances in which he distinctly mentions that he is speaking for himself, and without authority, his letters professed to convey the King's views and opinions; nor can there be any doubt of their having done so correctly, from the complete identity his Ministers always found between those stated in Sir H. Taylor's letters

¹ “Life and Times of Lord Brougham.”

² The son of the Premier.

on behalf of the King, and those expressed verbally by His Majesty himself in the frequent audiences in which he was accustomed to discuss public affairs with them, and in which he showed the deep and intelligent interest he took in what was going on.

"Perhaps it may be thought that this mode of carrying on the correspondence between the King and his Ministers must have given more influence than was right to His Majesty's private secretary; and undoubtedly it might have been attended with much inconvenience if the post had been held by a person capable of abusing the great trust reposed in him.

"But Sir H. Taylor stands far above any such suspicion; and though it is scarcely possible that so able a man could perform the duties confided to him without exercising some influence over the mind of the King, it was my father's conviction that this influence was only used for the purpose of allaying the feelings of irritation created at times in His Majesty's mind, and of smoothing any difficulties that arose between him and his Ministers.

"I have often heard my father express his admiration of the manner in which Sir H. Taylor acquitted himself of the very difficult and delicate duties of his situation, and say that if the office of private secretary to the King had been held by a less honourable and high-minded man, the difficulty of carrying on the Government would have been very greatly increased."¹

Peers and the Reform Bill—1832.

Lord John Russell's third Reform Bill was introduced to the Upper Chamber by Lord Grey on March 27th, 1832, and the Lords passed the Second Reading on April 14th by the bare majority of nine.

On May 7th, however, in Committee, Lord Lyndhurst moved that the clause disenfranchising certain boroughs (enumerated in Schedule A) should be postponed. His motion was carried against the Government by a majority of 151 to 116.

Majority
against
the
Govern-
ment.

For the King's Ministers this vote entailed an entire reconsideration of their position; and at this point we can follow their difficulties by the introduction of a few letters.

It will be seen how the crux of the question—especially dominant during those ten days from the 7th to the 17th of May—lay in the King's consent to ensure the passing of the Reform Bill by a creation of Whig Peers.

¹ Extract from the Preface to, the "Correspondence of Earl Grey with King William IV. and Sir H. Taylor." Edited by Henry, Earl Grey.

EARL GREY *to* SIR H. TAYLOR.

Downing Street. May 7th, 1832.

MY DEAR SIR,

Lord
Grey's
two alter-
natives.

This accompanies the very painful communication which I have to make to His Majesty of the result of to-night's debate and division. . . .

The only point we shall have to consider to-morrow will be whether we should propose a creation of Peers or at once tender our resignations to His Majesty.

I will send a messenger as soon as the Cabinet breaks up, and perhaps His Majesty will allow me the honour of a personal communication with him as soon afterwards as may be convenient to His Majesty. . . .

I am, etc.,

GREY.

MINUTE OF CABINET.

Foreign Office. May 8th, 1832.

Your Majesty's servants having been assembled to consider the situation in which they are placed by the vote of the Committee of the House of Lords last night, beg leave humbly to represent to your Majesty that they find themselves deprived of all hope of being able to carry the Reform Bill through its further stages in a manner that would be for the advantage of your Majesty's Government, or satisfactory to the public.

So circumstanced, your Majesty's servants would naturally be led at once to tender to your Majesty, with every sentiment of respect and gratitude, the resignation of the offices which they hold from your Majesty's favour, if they did not feel it to be a paramount duty not to withdraw themselves from your Majesty's service in a moment of so much difficulty, so long as they can contemplate the possibility of remaining in it with advantage to your Majesty, and to the public interests, and without dishonour to themselves.

They therefore feel bound humbly to suggest to your Majesty the expediency of advancing to the honour of the Peerage such a number of persons as might ensure the success of the Bill in all its essential principles, and as might give to your Majesty's servants the strength which is necessary for conducting with effect the business of the country.

In the opinion thus humbly submitted to your Majesty the Duke of Richmond alone of your Majesty's servants does not coincide.

All which, etc.

His Majesty, in reply, said that he had come to the painful resolution of accepting the resignations of his Ministers. He expressed his unabated sense of the value of their services and of their zeal, ability and integrity :—

“ But (that) His Majesty cannot reconcile it to what he considers to be his duty, and to be the principles which should govern him in the exercise of the prerogative which the Constitution of this country has entrusted to him, to consent to so large an addition to the Peerage as that which has been mentioned to him by Earl Grey and the Chancellor to be necessary. His Majesty's reply.

“ His Majesty has received too many proofs of the attachment and devotion of his confidential servants not to rely with confidence upon their readiness to comply with his request that they will respectively continue in the discharge of their official functions until he shall be enabled to make due arrangements for the public service; and that they will thus relieve him from the immediate difficulty in which he is placed, by an event for which he was altogether unprepared.

“ WILLIAM R.”

The King having accepted the resignation of Lord Grey and his colleagues, they retained their official functions provisionally until a new Ministry could be formed.

In the House of Commons on the next day (May 10th), Lord Ebrington moved an address to the King praying His Majesty to call to his Councils *“ only such persons as would carry into effect—unimpaired in any of its essential provisions—* the Bill for the Reform of the representation of the people which had recently passed that House.” Lord Ebrington's motion in the Commons, May 10th.

This address was carried by a majority of 80.

EARL GREY to SIR H. TAYLOR.

Downing Street. May 10th, 1832.

MY DEAR SIR HERBERT,

I should have wished to see you yesterday after the very distressing interview which I had with the King, had I not thought that it would be an unseasonable and inconvenient occupation of your time, at a moment when your business must necessarily be so much increased.

I never can forget the kindness and condescension of His Majesty in this conversation. My feelings were soothed and gratified by the marked expression of His Majesty's personal regard, but it was painful to see His Majesty so deeply affected, at the same time that I could not help contemplating, with the

greatest anxiety and apprehension, the difficulties and dangers which the present state of affairs may produce.

Symptoms of no equivocal nature are already presenting themselves of the strong excitement in the country. This, you may be assured, it will be my endeavour to allay as much as possible; but I have little reason to hope that any means I can use will be successful for this purpose.

In the House of Commons too, a feeling prevails which we have no power of controlling. It is in vain that it has been represented both by Lord Althorp and myself, that nothing could be more unpleasant to us personally, than any proceeding which might tend to throw difficulties in the way of the formation of a new Administration.

Lord Ebrington felt himself compelled to give notice of the motion which stands for to-day; and the appeal made to him by Lord Althorp, on giving this notice, only produced a strong expression from many members of the House that, under the present circumstances, it was absolutely necessary that it should be persevered in.

The motion itself, I am assured, is temperate in expression, and is of a nature which makes it impossible for His Majesty's Ministers not to vote for it when it is brought forward. They all feel equal regret at not having had it in their power to prevent it. I trust, however, that the debate will be conducted with moderation. It will be so, I feel assured by my colleagues, though the very injudicious and inconsiderate manner in which further disclosures as to what has passed on the subject of creating Peers have been pressed for by Sir R. Peel and Mr. A. Baring are extremely to be lamented, and may produce mischievous effects.

* * * * *

I was interrupted here by Lord Duncannon, who assures me that Lord Ebrington's motion was unavoidable, and that the consequence of his not making it, would have been its being taken up with more violence by some other person. Ellice confirms this opinion.

I shall have to write to you to-morrow about some other matters, which I wish to have arranged before I leave office.

That period I hope will not be long delayed.

I do not wish to press His Majesty in a work of so much difficulty as forming, at present, a new Administration, but the state of provisional Government in which we now are should not be prolonged.

I conclude you will soon be coming to make some stay in town, when I shall hope to have the pleasure of seeing you, and of repeating in person the satisfaction and comfort which I have

derived from the free and confidential intercourse with you which I have had the advantage of enjoying.

I am, etc.,

GREY.

SIR H. TAYLOR *to* EARL GREY.

Windsor Castle. May 11th, 1832. 12.30 p.m.

MY DEAR LORD,

In consequence of pressure of business and continued interruptions it has not been in my power, until this moment, to thank your Lordship for your very kind letter of yesterday. . . .

Your Lordship does the King justice in giving him credit for warm personal regard towards you, and for an affectionate sense of the zeal, attachment, and devotion with which you have served him.

The King's regard for Lord Grey.

The circumstances which have led to your retirement from his Councils have been the occasion of regret and concern which he has strongly expressed; and it is impossible that this feeling should not be accompanied by some uneasiness as to the difficulties and embarrassments with which His Majesty may have to contend.

But His Majesty's disposition leads him to meet difficulty boldly rather than to yield to apprehension; and whatever may be the dangers which the present state of affairs, or the spirit of the times may produce, I am convinced that His Majesty will not be found wanting in the determination to uphold the station in which Providence has placed him, and to merit the support of those who may aid and assist him. . . .

The King is very sensible of the endeavours which your Lordship and Lord Althorp and others have used to curb proceedings in the House of Commons which might tend to throw difficulties in the way of the formation of a new Administration, and he readily conceives that they must have been personally unpleasant to you; but His Majesty has not been surprised at the course pursued on this occasion, and is quite prepared for further steps of the same character.

I have, etc.,

H. TAYLOR.

In the meanwhile Lord Ebrington's motion in the House of Commons was naturally causing considerable embarrassment to the Opposition Leaders. Peel declined to take office; but it was reported that Wellington had undertaken to form an Administration composed of persons who had strongly opposed the Reform Bill, but who were *now* prepared to carry it out practically intact in all its essentials.

Report concerning the Duke of Wellington.

This report excited extreme indignation in the country; and on May 14th a debate in the House of Commons afforded an opportunity of expressing the same feeling—Lord Milton declaring that “if the Duke of Wellington, after his speech on the Second Reading, and the protest he had recorded against it, were now to form an Administration on the principle of passing the Bill, it would be an act of public immorality.”

A violent debate ensued, and the attacks on the proposed new Government became more and more vehement, culminating in the speech of Sir Robert Inglis, who in decided language condemned the project of transferring the conduct of the Reform Bill into the hands of its enemies, and said that if the Bill (to which he retained all his objections) was to be carried, it ought to be so by the Ministers who had proposed it.

Mr. Baring's suggestions in the Commons.

At length Mr. Baring, after communication (as it was supposed) with the chiefs of his party in the other House, got up and suggested that the breach between the King and his Ministers might not be irreparable, and that they might withdraw their advice to create a large number of Peers if an assurance were given them, or there were a reasonable possibility, that the House of Peers did really intend to pass Schedule A.

This was understood to imply an offer, on the part of the Opposition, to allow the Bill to pass, provided Peers were not created,¹ and it is to this the King alludes in the following letter:—

THE KING *to* EARL GREY.

St. James's Palace. May 15th, 1832.

The King hopes that difficulties may now be removed.

In consequence of what passed last night in the House of Commons, as it has been reported to the King, His Majesty is induced to communicate to Earl Grey his hope and expectation that the difficulties which have arisen may be removed, without resorting to any change of Administration, by passing the Bill with such modifications as may meet the views of those who may still entertain any difference of opinion upon the subject, and as may not be inconsistent with the intentions upon various occasions expressed by Earl Grey to His Majesty.

An arrangement to this effect would relieve the King from the embarrassment under which he has been placed and would be highly satisfactory to His Majesty.

WILLIAM R.

¹ The above remarks are taken, to some extent, from the account given by Henry, Earl Grey, the son of the Premier.

EARL GREY *to* THE KING.

Downing Street. May 15th, 1832.

Earl Grey presents his humble duty to your Majesty and has the honour of acknowledging your Majesty's most gracious letter of this day.

He begs in the first place to repeat to your Majesty the assurance of his unabated zeal for your Majesty's service, to promote which no efforts on his part which can be made consistently with his character and honour will be wanting.

But your Majesty must be aware of the increased difficulties which, after what has happened, oppose themselves to any modifications of the Bill except such as may be proposed with a view to the improvement of its subordinate details. Any change of its principles or essential provisions it would be impossible for Earl Grey to propose. . . .

All which, etc.,

GREY.

EARL GREY *to* SIR H. TAYLOR.

Downing Street. May 15th, 1832.

DEAR SIR HERBERT,

I enclose my answer to the King's letter, upon which it will be my duty to consult my colleagues.

I have summoned a Cabinet to meet immediately.

You cannot but perceive the difficulties which must embarrass such a negotiation as this letter seems to propose. Indeed, things have been brought to a state in which I do not now see the possibility of anything less than the whole Bill.

God knows how much I desire to relieve the King from all the difficulties into which we have all been brought by the conduct of the opposers of the Bill, and by the false impressions created by those who have availed themselves, with too little good faith, of the opportunities given them by their admission to His Majesty's society; but the circumstances are so changed, that many things which might have been done before this crisis took place, are now altogether impossible.

The Cabinet are assembling, and I must conclude.

I am, etc.,

GREY.

EARL GREY *to* THE KING.

Downing Street. May 15th, 1832.

Earl Grey having laid before his colleagues your Majesty's most gracious letter of this day, has now the honour of humbly submitting to your Majesty the opinion in which they have unanimously concurred.

Nothing
less than
the whole
Bill is
possible.

Adverting to the present state of the country, it appears to them that they cannot recommend to your Majesty any course as safe, which would not have the effect of speedily passing the Bill in such a shape as would satisfy the just expectations of the public, and put an end to the agitation which now prevails.

This is rendered more than ever necessary by the effect produced by the knowledge that the resignation of your Majesty's present Ministers has been accepted, and that the Duke of Wellington had been commissioned to form a new Administration, and had failed in the execution of that task.

In these circumstances, after full consideration, and with the most anxious desire to act for the advantage of your Majesty's service, Earl Grey is instructed to submit to your Majesty the conviction to which he and his colleagues have been brought, that they could not continue in their present situations usefully to your Majesty, or honourably to themselves, except with a sufficient security that they will possess the power of passing the present Bill, unimpaired in its principles, and its essential provisions, and as nearly as possible in its present form.

All which, etc.,

GREY.

THE KING to EARL GREY.

St. James's Palace. May 15th, 1832.

The King has received Earl Grey's letter of this day. . . .

His Majesty . . . admits that after all that has passed he cannot require them to continue in their present situations, except with a "sufficient security that they will possess the power of passing the present Bill unimpaired in its principles and its essential provisions, and as nearly as possible in its present form"; and His Majesty has upon this point to remark to Earl Grey, that when, in his letter of this day, he adverted to *modifications* which might be satisfactory to others, he adverted to them *also* as being such as would be consistent with the intentions which Earl Grey had upon various occasions expressed to His Majesty.

The King
re-states
his own
position.

It is indeed hardly necessary for the King to remind Earl Grey and his colleagues that His Majesty's opposition (whatever may have been his objections) has not been to the principles and the essential provisions of the Reform Bill. To that Bill, as submitted to him by Earl Grey on the 31st January, 1831, the King gave his general assent; nor has it at any time been withdrawn, although he has repeatedly urged the propriety of introducing such modifications as, without impairing the principle and the efficiency of the Bill, might remove objections reasonably entertained and advanced, and, above all, weaken the

opposition of the House of Lords, and prevent that collision between the two Houses which he had early apprehended from the introduction of a measure which Earl Grey had himself, more than once, characterized as "perilous"; nor had His Majesty omitted to convey to them his opinion that they would find the opposition in the Lords more formidable and more persevering than they had felt disposed to anticipate.

All this was more particularly and most earnestly pressed upon them by His Majesty immediately after he had sanctioned the dissolution of Parliament in April, 1831, when he flattered himself he could do it with best effect, having by that act unequivocally evinced his determination to support them in the prosecution of the measure.

At that period, however, notwithstanding His Majesty's warning as to the extent of the opposition to be apprehended in the House of Lords, not a word was said as to the necessity of creating Peers; nor, in fact, was any direct communication on *this* subject made to the King until January last,¹ when it was introduced to him by Earl Grey at Brighton.

Without entering here into the detail of what passed, or adverting to the rapid growth of the proposal then made to His Majesty, he will refer briefly to the extreme repugnance with which he consented to it, to his objections to the increase suggested, and to the anxiety with which he endeavoured to avert the "dreaded evil."

His Majesty must feel less hesitation in making this reference to those circumstances, as he cannot forget the satisfaction and the confidence which he derived from Earl Grey's repeated assurances that he participated in the King's aversion to a creation of Peers for such a purpose; that he considered it a measure of extreme violence, and for which there was no precedent.

His Majesty repeats, his opposition was not to the Reform Bill, its essential provisions or principles; it was to the proposed creation of Peers. But he did not persist in that opposition;

The King was not in opposition to the Reform Bill itself.

¹ On January 3rd. In His Majesty's reply to Earl Grey on the following day, after generally acquiescing in the possible but undesirable necessity for a future addition to the Peerage, he added, "It is impossible that His Majesty should view otherwise than with serious apprehension the preponderance of the House of Commons in the direction of the affairs of this country, if it be applied, as it has been occasionally applied, and more frequently attempted to be applied, to the prejudice of the Monarchy, and the degradation of its attributes. He is not conscious of having betrayed any disposition to an extravagant display of dignity and splendour, or to the exercise of despotic and arbitrary rule. He is therefore warranted in ascribing the propensity for encroachment, which has been shown by the House of Commons, to that growing fancy for *Liberalism* which, however fair its appearance, is by many assumed to cover democratic and levelling purposes, and may mislead others to the encouragement and support of schemes fatal to the existence of the Constitution and the form of Government under which this country has so long prospered."—"Earl Grey's Correspondence."

he yielded, rather than risk the continuance of agitation in the country, and the change of men and measure, both, in his opinion, alike injurious to its interests. He consented to an addition to the House of Lords, subject to His Majesty's consideration as to the nature and the extent of the addition.

In consequence of the division upon Lord Lyndhurst's motion of the 7th inst., His Majesty's confidential servants submitted to him, in a Minute of Cabinet which Earl Grey and the Lord Chancellor brought to His Majesty in person, the alternative of their resignations, or of a creation of Peers.

Earl Grey will recollect that he told His Majesty that they contemplated not less a number than fifty; that he admitted that even this number might prove insufficient; that he and Lord Brougham agreed that His Majesty had *never* encouraged them to expect that he would consent to so extensive a creation.

When the King adopted the painful alternative of accepting the resignations of Earl Grey and his colleagues, he stated that he was altogether unprepared for the event. . . . His Majesty, therefore, naturally anticipated great difficulties; but he admits that they have greatly exceeded his expectations, nor does he deny that the failure in the attempt to form a new Administration induced him to take advantage of what passed in the House of Commons last night¹ to propose to Earl Grey and his colleagues an arrangement which would effect the object they have in view, at the same time that it would relieve him from the embarrassment under which he had been placed by their proposal to make so extensive a creation of Peers for the purpose of passing the Bill. . . .

His Majesty trusts that this measure will henceforth be effected without their being under the necessity of calling upon him for a creation of Peers.

. . . As it is, he trusts that it is unnecessary for him to say more than that Earl Grey and his colleagues may safely rely upon His Majesty's past conduct, for the assurance that, if a creation of Peers should be required to give additional strength to His Majesty's Government in the House of Lords, His Majesty's sanction to the measure, under certain and reasonable limitations, will not be wanting.

The King will be prepared to receive Earl Grey at one o'clock to-morrow.

WILLIAM R.

¹ See p. 346, Mr. Baring's speech in the House of Commons.

EARL GREY to SIR H. TAYLOR.

Downing Street. May 16th, 1832.

As the King may expect an answer to his letter, I think it necessary to apprise you that it will not be in the power of the Cabinet to send it to-night. . . .

Upon considering the suggestion of a declaration by the Duke of Wellington¹ there appears to be a great difficulty in proposing such a proceeding. What we talked of this morning appears, on many accounts, to be objectionable.

Perhaps the best course will be to wait till after to-morrow, when, if what passes in the House of Lords should appear to furnish a sufficient assurance of our being able to carry the measure, the difficulty may be removed.

But we shall have the matter further under consideration this evening, and you may expect to hear from me to-morrow.

I am, etc.,
GREY.

On the following day, May 17th, Lord Grey and the Lord Chancellor had an interview with the King, during which they obtained from him a general permission, *in writing*, for the creation of such a number of Peers as would ensure the passing of the Reform Bill.

The King's letter that follows was written later in the morning.

THE KING to EARL GREY.

St. James's Palace. May 17th, 1832.

The King transmits to Earl Grey the copy of a communication which has been made by his order to the Duke of Wellington and many other Peers; and acquaints him that, in the event of the declaration being made in the House of Lords which is therein suggested, Earl Grey is authorized by His Majesty to state to the House of Lords that His Majesty has been pleased to express his desire that Earl Grey and his colleagues should continue in his Councils.

The King
hopes for
a declara-
tion in
the Lords.

WILLIAM R.

(Enclosure.)

SIR H. TAYLOR to THE DUKE OF WELLINGTON.

St. James's Palace. May 17th, 1832.

MY DEAR LORD DUKE,

I have received the King's commands to acquaint your Grace that all difficulties and obstacles to the arrangements in

¹ That the Duke and his followers in the Lords would consent to drop their opposition to the Bill.

progress will be removed by a declaration in the House of Lords this day from a sufficient number of Peers, that, in consequence of the present state of things, they have come to the resolution of dropping their further opposition to the Reform Bill, so that it may pass, as nearly as possible, in its present form.

Should your Grace agree to this, as he hopes you will, His Majesty requests you will communicate on the subject with Lord Lyndhurst, Lord Ellenborough, and any other Peers who may be disposed to concur with you.

I have, etc.,

H. TAYLOR.

The letters to other opposition Peers were similar to the above, the last paragraph being omitted. In the House of Lords that evening, however, neither the Duke nor any other Peer made the desired declaration, but he and many of his followers left the House during the sitting.

EARL GREY to SIR H. TAYLOR.

Downing Street. May 17th, 1832.

Lord
Grey's
embar-
rassment.

I have not yet recovered from my astonishment at what has passed in the House of Lords to-night. It was in vain that I endeavoured to prevent irritations by answering in a very mitigated tone, not to say tamely, two very violent speeches from the Duke of Wellington and Lord Lyndhurst, in the hope that the expected declaration would come at last.

They were followed by speeches still more bitter from Lord Mansfield, Lord Carnarvon, Lord Haddington and others, but not a word of any declaration of abstaining from opposition. They got up in a body, at the end of Lord Carnarvon's speech, and left the House; which was, I suppose, intended as a secession, but without any declaration of an intention to let the Bill pass, so that they are at liberty to return in force whenever they may see a favourable opportunity for striking a blow.

This leaves us in a situation of extreme embarrassment; we have no security against their reappearing in force at any moment; and they are evidently combined, and determined to exert their united efforts to overthrow the Administration if it remains in our hands, whenever they may see an opening for an attack; in short, we remain entirely at their mercy. As the Peers were leaving the House, Lord Strangford said to somebody near him, "You see, Sir H. Taylor's famous letter did no good."

In these circumstances I see no resource but our reverting to the minute which was delivered to the King by the Lord Chancellor and me at Windsor. But this will be the subject of

our deliberations in the Cabinet which is to meet at twelve to-morrow. . . .

I have, etc.,
GREY.

SIR H. TAYLOR *to* EARL GREY.

St. James's Palace. May 17th, 1832.

The King has ordered me to send your Lordship the copy of a letter from the Duke of Wellington in reply to that which His Majesty has communicated to you, and to say that both His Grace and Lord Lyndhurst had certainly declared to him their intention of absenting themselves from the further discussion of the Reform Bill, observing that they made this declaration for themselves individually, and could not answer for others.

Taylor endeavours to lessen Lord Grey's sense of insecurity.

Many others have, however, made the same statement to His Majesty; and the Duke of Cumberland, who came to me to acknowledge verbally the receipt of my letter, told me that he should consult with his friends, and would probably take the same course as the Duke of Wellington.

The Duke of Gloucester told me he had already stated to His Majesty he would not further oppose the Bill.

Lord Farnborough has signified his acquiescence in the King's wish, but I have not heard from any others.

Upon the whole, although the Duke of Wellington may decline to make any declaration in the House of Lords, His Majesty trusts that others may, and that enough will be said in the Lords in confirmation of the statements made to His Majesty to afford to your Lordship the security you require.

I have, etc.,
H. TAYLOR.

(Enclosure.)

THE DUKE OF WELLINGTON *to* SIR H. TAYLOR.

London. May 17th, 1832.

MY DEAR GENERAL,

I have received your letter of this day's date. I told the King that, as an individual Peer, I would not attend the further discussion of the Reform Bill.

Lord Lyndhurst did the same. We both propose to act accordingly.

But I confess that I don't think that I can declare in the House of Lords what my course will be, as a condition that the Minister should refrain from his recommendation that Peers should be created to carry the Bill, without making myself a party to his proceeding.

Ever, etc.,
WELLINGTON.

SIR H. TAYLOR to EARL GREY.

St. James's Palace. May 18th, 1832.

I have had the honour of submitting your Lordship's letter of yesterday night to the King, who had previously signed the letter in reply to that you addressed to himself, and has since ordered me to refer you to that for the expression of the feeling of vexation and disappointment with which His Majesty learnt the proceedings in the House of Lords last night.

His Majesty laments the violence with which some of the Opposition Lords are reported to have spoken, and the reports made to him from other quarters fully confirm what you say of Lord Lyndhurst's speech, at the same time that they admit yours to have been free from irritation, and temperate and calm.

I must not, however, disguise from your Lordship—and I am certain that, in these times and under the present extraordinary circumstances, you will receive the communication in the spirit in which it is conveyed, and not ascribe it to an abuse of the indulgence which has marked your correspondence with me—that I have learnt from a Peer, a personal friend, and by no means a violent party man, that “several Peers had intended to take an opportunity of declaring their intention of not opposing the Reform Bill in the Committee *and in the subsequent stages*, but that your speech was so peremptory and unconciliatory in tone that they abandoned their intention.”

I am aware that every communication of this nature must be received with caution, and I am aware also, from what has been further said to me, that those who were disposed to make such a declaration had formed an unreasonable expectation of some communication from your Lordship, which might have afforded an opening, for they state that none had been given, nor any inducement for any Peer to make such a declaration as His Majesty wished.

Under all circumstances His Majesty has not abandoned the hope that some one may come forward, and others concur to the effect suggested by him; and he flatters himself that his letter to Lord Mansfield¹ may do some good.

The King will await with extreme solicitude the result of your deliberations, and I need not add how anxiously I pray that it may tend to His Majesty's ease and satisfaction.

I have, etc.,

H. TAYLOR.

¹ In this letter the King, after expressing disappointment at what had taken place in the House of Lords on the previous evening, pointed out that, as he had received assurances from the Duke of Wellington, Lord Lyndhurst, and other Peers that they would not attend the further discussion of the Reform Bill, he was surely justified in hoping that an intimation to that effect from those so disposed would not have been withheld.

In the Minute of Cabinet that day (May 18th) the King's Ministers expressed their regret that on the previous evening the chief adversaries of the Reform Bill, in the Lords, had made no declaration which would have put an end to all fear of its not being carried intact; and they stated that they could see no other possible security except that which was submitted in the Cabinet Minute of the 16th inst., and to which the King had given his assent, viz. a sufficient creation of Peers to overcome all opposition; that an assurance of His Majesty's consent to such a creation, in the event of any fresh obstacle arising, would afford them the security which they felt compelled to require as a condition of their continuance in office.

The
Cabinet
require a
further
assurance
from the
King.

It may be asked, why did Lord Grey require a further assurance from the King if he had already received it? Probably the general permission that had been given was considered too indefinite; and it was at least a question in their minds whether His Majesty was still prepared (under existing circumstances) to retain their services. A clear understanding was imperative.

The King, however (in a letter to Lord Grey, of this date), replying to the Cabinet Minute, reiterated his promise, and assured his Ministers—

“that he was prepared to afford them the security they require for passing the Reform Bill as nearly as possible in its present form; with this view His Majesty authorizes Lord Grey, if any obstacle should arise during the further progress of the Bill, to submit to him a creation of Peers to such an extent as shall be necessary to enable him to carry the Bill, always bearing in mind that it has been, and still is, His Majesty's object to avoid any permanent increase to the Peerage, and, therefore, that this addition to the House of Peers, if, unfortunately, it should become necessary, shall comprehend as large a proportion of the eldest sons of Peers and collateral heirs of childless Peers as can possibly be brought forward.

“In short, that the list of eldest sons and collaterals who can be brought forward shall be completely exhausted before any list be resorted to which can entail a permanent addition to the Peerage.

“Subject to these conditions, which have been already stated verbally, and admitted by Earl Grey and the Lord Chancellor, His Majesty assents to the proposal conveyed in the Minute of Cabinet of this day; and this main point being disposed of, it is unnecessary that His Majesty should notice any other part of the Minute.”

In the House of Lords that evening, Lord Grey, in answer to a question by Lord Harewood as to whether the present Ministers would continue in office, replied :—

“ In consequence of my having received the King’s request to that effect, and in consequence of my now finding myself in a situation which will enable me to carry through the Bill unimpaired in its efficiency, I and my colleagues continue in office.”

EARL GREY *to* SIR H. TAYLOR.

Downing Street. May 18th, 1832.

I will, with as little delay as possible, lay the King’s answer to the Minute of Cabinet before my colleagues, and in the mean time I have acknowledged it in the accompanying letter to His Majesty. It is entirely satisfactory, and His Majesty may be assured, that if it should become necessary to propose a creation of Peers, a necessity which I sincerely hope will not arise, it will be my desire, as it is my duty, to attend strictly to His Majesty’s wishes as to the manner in which it shall be made.

My declaration seemed to excite new fury in our adversaries, and I am afraid we shall have a good deal of trouble in the Committee. The Archbishop of York’s declaration was very full and very useful; and Lord Harewood, though his speech contained great bitterness against the Administration, declared he would not give further opposition. . . .

I did not get to dinner till nine o’clock, and am quite knocked up with the fatigue of the last ten days.

I am, therefore, under the necessity of sending an excuse for not being at the Queen’s ball to-night. Pray do what you can to prevent a wrong construction being put on my absence. I really am very unwell.

Ever, etc.,
GREY.

THE KING *to* EARL GREY.

St. James’s Palace. May 19th, 1832.

The King has received Earl Grey’s letter of yesterday . . . from which His Majesty has learnt with pleasure that the Archbishop of York made so satisfactory a speech.

The King is not surprised at the irritation which still prevails.

His Majesty is more concerned than surprised at the irritation which still prevails, and the acrimony of some of the opponents to the Reform Bill; but he trusts that, however annoying, it will prove no serious obstacle.

His Majesty approves of the temperate course pursued by Earl Grey upon this occasion.

WILLIAM R.

EARL GREY *to* SIR H. TAYLOR.

Downing Street. May 19th, 1832.

Will you have the goodness to let me know in what manner the persons holding offices under Government, whose resignations had been accepted, are to be reinstated, particularly those who held offices in the Household. . . .

The more I think of what passed in the House of Lords last night, and the appearance which it exhibited, the more reason I see to apprehend a very troublesome opposition, and perhaps a stronger one than may be safe for the progress of the Bill. They really are hurried away by a degree of passion which knows no control, and as they appear to attend in considerable numbers with most of the more active debaters of the party, it becomes extremely urgent that every possible measure should be taken to prevent the embarrassment into which both His Majesty and the Government may be thrown, by their carrying a vote in the Committee. After-thoughts.

I hope, therefore, you will do all you can to insure the absence, if it is impossible to procure for the Government the support, of as many of its former adversaries as possible.

As long as this question remains unsettled, jealousy and suspicion will remain awake, and agitation more or less will continue.

One of the surest means of expediting the progress of the Bill through the Committee will be a good division on the first vote that may be taken. With this, I should hope it may not be necessary to propose to create a single Peer at present, and I am as anxious to avoid that necessity as the King himself can be.

Ever, etc.,
GREY.

SIR H. TAYLOR *to* EARL GREY.

St. James's Palace. May 20th, 1832.

I called in Downing Street yesterday afternoon to tell your Lordship—and not finding you or Mr. Wood, I mentioned to Lord Palmerston—that those Peers, who are using their endeavours to increase the number of seceders or non-voters on the Reform Bill, wished for another day or two.¹ The seceding or non-voting Peers.

I have, however, since seen Lord Farnborough, Lord Brownlow, and Lord Skelmersdale, and I learn from them that they do not now wish for any postponement of the question.

By comparing notes I make out about twenty-four Peers, who have stated their intention to absent themselves or not to vote, and there are some others named as doubtful.

¹ Therefore that the discussion in Committee should be postponed.

These are, of course, independent of those who may take their line without reference to my friends, or who may be communicated with by others.

I have, etc.,
H. TAYLOR.

EARL GREY to SIR H. TAYLOR.

Downing Street. May 20th, 1832.

. . . It gave me the greatest pleasure to learn that His Majesty had been satisfied with the communications which have lately been made to him.

. . . What we know of the intended secession encourages me to hope that the effectual settlement of this question may be accomplished! But I am still under the apprehension of considerable difficulty in the Committee, and I shall be very nervous till the first day is over. . . .

I had never understood that the Duke of Wellington and Lord Lyndhurst had promised for more than themselves, but I hope that this example will be followed by enough to secure the passing of the Bill. It really is a most anxious moment. I know the King doubts the extent and intensity of the feeling which exists on this occasion, but I can assure you that it was, and is, most formidable.

I am, etc.,
GREY.

SIR H. TAYLOR to EARL GREY.

St. James's Palace. May 20th, 1832.

Taylor's
additional
communi-
cation to
the Oppo-
sition
Peers.

. . . I think it necessary upon this occasion to state to your Lordship that, finding the progress of the endeavours I had been ordered to promote checked by some uncertainty, or assumed uncertainty, as to the position in which the questions stood, I stated to those with whom I communicated—and without any restriction as to their use of the authority—that in case any obstacle should arise in the progress of the Bill, your Lordship had His Majesty's authority to submit to him such a creation of Peers as should be sufficient to carry the Bill, and I added that they, therefore, had before them the alternative of the Reform Bill with an addition to the Peerage, or the Reform Bill without it.¹

I have, etc.,
H. TAYLOR.

¹ This Bill passed the third reading in the House of Lords on the 4th of June—106 Peers voting for it, and 22 against.

CHAPTER XXII

1833-1835

Letters: Lord Camden—William IV.—Edward Taylor—Sir Edward Disbrowe.

Tithe, and Church Reform.

THE MARQUIS OF CAMDEN to SIR H. TAYLOR.

Wilderness Park, Sevenoaks. January 4th, 1833.

DEAR SIR HERBERT,

It is impossible for any man who was actively engaged in public life in his early years, and who has ever since been connected with political characters, to divest himself of that interest and anxiety for the well-being of the State even at a period of life when other objects might be supposed to occupy his mind.

The Reform Bill has become the law of the land, and a Parliament has been chosen according to the enactments of that Bill. The Parliament is to assemble on the 29th inst., and early in February the King's Speech will be delivered.

Seven or eight questions of great moment present themselves as likely to be brought before it, and upon most, if not all these questions some notice may probably be taken in His Majesty's Speech on the first day of the session.

The questions are—

The Foreign Policy.

The Mauritius.

The East India Co. Charter.

Ireland.

Bank Charter.

Tithe.

West India Question.

Church Reform.

I forbear to touch upon any of these except the two last; and I do so because, tho' the others are most important, I think the two I have mentioned require the utmost delicacy in treating them.

With respect to the Tithe question, it appears to be impossible that it should not be a subject of consideration in the next session. It is already broached in Ireland, and it is easy to foresee that it must be brought forward in England; and I find both the highest Ecclesiastics and the lowest Rectors expect an alteration, or a commutation of Tithe.

Taking it, therefore, as granted that the above question must be brought forward, and at least attempted to be settled, I am so anxious, on public grounds, that the question respecting Tithe should be separated from that of the Church Reform, that I have even ventured to break in upon the time of a person who has so little leisure, and who may possibly be embarrassed by my address to him.

I will nevertheless proceed to observe that I think the Church, as at present constituted, so essential to the stability of the Monarchy, so essential to the religion and morality of the country, and so interwoven with its good government, and, moreover, that its dignitaries are so respectable, and its ministers so well educated, well conducted and pious, that I should myself most unwillingly promote any change. I am not, however, blind to the reforming spirit of the times, and therefore the purport of this representation is to express a strong opinion that time should be given to enable those who are to consider it—and *that* Person especially who is so much concerned in its proper adjustment—to do so in all its bearings with the most mature deliberation.

I shall be sorry to see any more distinct pledge given than that the question is fit to be considered at a proper moment, but that the previous question of Tithe alteration or commutation ought first to be disposed of.

I wish the Tithe question to be distinct from Church Reform because the tide runs so strongly in favour of alteration or commutation of Tithe that it cannot be resisted—and therefore the friends of the Church ought to settle this unpopular measure before they fight a battle to preserve the Church Establishment with some power and influence attached to it.

One very strong reason which actuates me to form the opinion that no very extensive reform of the Church should take place, is that it affords almost the only remaining source of Government patronage. This patronage has been so much reduced in various modes and offices as to render it most difficult for *any* Government to promote His Majesty's views and the interests of the country even in the old Constitution of Parliament. Surely in the new Constitution of it that difficulty is increased in a degree I scarcely know how to calculate. It seems to me that any minister must feel it necessary to retain a wholesome influence which can be administered with a proper distribution of that patronage, and without which he can scarcely carry on the ordinary routine of business.

I am aware there can only be a *postponement* of the consideration of Church Reform. The Bench of Bishops have themselves sent circular letters to the clergy for a statement of their revenues. But this affords a very fair and reasonable

pretext for delay, as the returns, when they do come in, will require explanation, and will call for further inquiry. Until such returns are made no legislative measure can take place.

I venture to observe also that in a measure so essential to the Church the opinions of the heads of the establishment should be known. I think they will be desirous of delay till after the consideration of the Tithe question.

I have perhaps been guilty of an indiscretion in thus addressing you. I have, however, satisfied my feelings in thus expressing myself to you.

My observations do not require a reply. I wish you to consider this letter as a proof of confidence in yourself. I have really and truly no *Party* object in view. No one knows of my writing to you.

I own I *have* the object of maintaining the kingly power in my contemplation as administered by one who has always treated me with so much kindness and consideration.

Believe me, dear Sir Herbert,

Yours most sincerely,

CAMDEN.

(Reply to the above.)

SIR H. TAYLOR to THE MARQUIS OF CAMDEN.

Brighton. January 24th, 1833.

MY DEAR LORD,

. . . As yet nothing has passed, or has at least reached my knowledge on the subject of the Tithe or the Church Reform question which can lead to any positive conclusions.

Enough, however, has been said to convince me that they will be brought forward in a conservative spirit, and that there is no disposition to force in measures affecting either which are inconsistent with the sound and constitutional view you take of them. . . . My opinion is formed on desultory communication, and that has strongly impressed me with the conviction that the feeling is conservative. I think also that the necessity of a previous settlement of the Tithe question is felt and admitted.

. . . No person can be more thoroughly sensible than I am of the correct and honourable principle and the patriotic feeling which guide you; and I anxiously hope that nothing essential may be brought forward which will prevent your Lordship and others who act on those principles from giving a general support to His Majesty's Government at a period when it is so incumbent that the power of Government—provided it be correctly administered—should be upheld.

Believe me, etc., etc.,

H. TAYLOR.

King William IV. and his Family.

WILLIAM IV. to LORD EGREMONT.

Brighton. January 17th, 1833.

MY DEAR LORD,

In order that your Lordship may perceive that I have not neglected the interests of my eldest son, the Earl of Munster, since my accession to the throne, I send the enclosed paper for your Lordship's information.¹

Your Lordship may rest assured that I shall at all times feel disposed to forward the interests of the Earl of Munster when consistent with those of his brothers and sisters who have all equal claims to my regard and affection.

Believe me, etc.,

WILLIAM R.

Early in 1834 Taylor received from the King the Grand Cross of the Order of the Bath. In the same year he was offered the honour of a Peerage; but this he declined—partly perhaps because he had no surviving son. His daughter Charlotte, or "Chaddy," as she was generally called, was now ten years old. There had been three sons, but they had all died in their infancy.

In the next two letters his brother Edward gives some account of the Orange disturbances in Brussels:—

EDWARD TAYLOR to SIR H. TAYLOR.

Brussels. Friday, April 11th, 1834.

Though you are informed, of course, from public sources of all that is going on here, and the effects of the unfortunate events which have taken place at Brussels I cannot avoid mentioning facts which come to my knowledge. There is no doubt that during the latter part of the last week the military were all tamper'd with (the garrison consisting of 3000 men) and they were bribed to act as they did on Sunday last—that is, to offer no resistance to the destruction of the houses of the obnoxious persons among the Orangists, under the assurance that they would only be rendering service to their country and their King by punishing their enemies.

This was the reason why it was found impossible to stop those shameful proceedings until the troops arrived from other quarters. Under the circumstances it is greatly to be lamented

¹ The paper referred to contained a list of certain money payments.

that the King was advised to show himself until these forces arrived.

There is no doubt, however, that the Orangists have by their conduct during the whole of last winter brought this punishment upon themselves; and they have been particularly encouraged by the English, Austrian, and Prussian Ministers who were always in their houses and present when the King and the Government were grossly abused, and when the party went even so far as to express a wish that the young Prince¹ should die when he was lately so ill.

It is but justice to Sir George Hamilton to say, that as soon as he found how treasonable they all were, he ceased to go to their houses.

The Prince de Ligne, Madame de L——, and some others were received in Sir R. A.'s house during the riots, and instead of being there in private, they exhibited themselves with impudence at the windows; and the conversation at dinner before the servants was calculated to give the greatest offence to the people.

I have escaped very happily till now, but I am very far from thinking my property safe, after what I have witnessed. You may suppose how greatly all parties are irritated and disposed to riot and disorder.

. . . Ever most affectly. yours,

E. T.

EDWARD TAYLOR *to* LADY TAYLOR.

Brussels. April 15th, 1834.

MY DEAR SISTER,

Wishing to thank you for your kind letter I shall address this to you instead of to my brother, and I request you will tell him that King Leopold has desired me to write him a detailed account of the late deplorable events here, and to explain how we have been surprised by a sudden disturbance after such a long period of profound peace and quietness.

The first part I have already done, and as to the latter—it should be understood that when the King went out of his Palace, it was with the intention of putting a stop to the destruction which was going on.

Unfortunately he was deceived when he supposed he could order the troops to act. That power was by law only vested in the Burgomaster and Magistrates; and it was only after a meeting of the Council, and the necessity of immediately acting, that it was decided to act contrary to the law.

A great number of persons have during the last few days been taken up—many of respectable families, and people of

¹ Afterwards King Leopold II.

commerce—many strangers also have been sent out of the Kingdom.

Sir R. A. told me the King had sent for him yesterday, and they had a long explanation. Sir R. recommended the King to *assume* more spirit, and even to threaten to abdicate if he was not invested with greater powers.

The King promised to do so.

I met at Sir R.'s house the Prussian and Austrian Ministers, the Duc d'Arenberg, and some Orangists. The King's private secretary complained to me in the morning of the encouragement given during the whole winter by those three Ministers to the Orangists, and particularly by the Austrian, who is supposed to have been personally abusive of the King and Queen.

I have offered this house for six months to Mr. Lawrence and Lady Jane Peel; and if they take it I hope to go to England for a short time, when I shall enjoy the happiness of seeing you all. . . .

E. T.

The Curious Illness of the King of Sweden (Bernadotte).

SIR EDWARD DISBROWE¹ to SIR H. TAYLOR.

Stockholm. February 25th, 1835.

I almost thought by this messenger to announce to you the commencement of a new reign in Sweden, and never was any man nearer to death's door without putting his foot into his tomb.

He took no nourishment for many days; nature refused to retain what he swallowed; this was succeeded by a disgust for all nourishment. He would not even make the attempt. His physical force declined rapidly for three days. The fourth morning he was speechless from weakness for several hours—seemed to rally a little—talked rapidly and not always coherently.

The physicians who had not left him for thirty hours, said he might go on for forty-eight hours, and told him of the necessity of giving out a bulletin.

He replied: "No, I will die first. *They* are killing me *à petit feu*; they shall never know that I suffer. One of these mornings they shall hear that I am dead. It will be the first they shall hear of my illness, and they will then *repent*. I shall not survive the 27th or 28th March; March is always a fatal month for Sweden, and this year it will be more so."

He grew worse at the close of the forty-eight hours; his

¹ British Minister at Stockholm.

weakness was still more apparent. Those around him cautiously spoke of a Regency. He said he felt he must submit—ordered the Act to be drawn up. It was prepared. The Prince (already apprised) and Wetterstedt took it for signature. His Majesty replied: "To-morrow; I am better, and will sleep."

The next morning he positively refused to sign, as he was getting well, and he is now really better. A few days abstinence from business has worked a miracle.

At present the opinion of the physicians is that he may die the 27th or 28th March, if he still retains the fatal idea; or he may go on for two months; but there is no possible calculation to be made of what a man whose moral can vanquish physical weakness may do.

March 5th.—Having detained my messenger up to this day, I will add that His Majesty's strength is astonishing, and I have even just received notice of a dinner party to-morrow at which he will assist in the Palace in the Park.

. . . It is now pretended that he was not so ill or weak as he said himself, but had taken it into his head that an attempt had been made to poison him. He consequently would eat nothing, and from that system nearly died. His cooks are not allowed to approach his dinner, which is now prepared by an old woman formerly with him in Germany, and who was about the Queen. She is French.

This story about the poisoning may be true or false, but it is not the first time he has taken the idea into his head.

He has presided at two Councils since, and if he would not destroy himself by anxiety of mind respecting what passes in the Chambers, it appears to me he may still go on for a long time.

This consideration brings me to another, respecting which I must consult you.

You will remember that last summer His Majesty was pleased to direct me to sound the Prince Royal on the subject of a visit to England. The commencement of winter did not appear to me propitious for doing so. The subsequent changes in England, and the consequent embarrassments induced me again to postpone it—and lastly the King of Sweden's illness.

Should that Monarch recover sufficiently to enable the Prince Royal to be absent, I think such a proposition would be received with thankfulness and gratitude, and might tend to get him completely out of Russian trammels.

Visit of
the Crown
Prince to
England
suggested.

I should like, therefore, to know your opinion on the subject, and above all to be honoured, if possible, with my own Sovereign's commands. But if any serious alteration in the King of Sweden's health again took place, I should act according to the circumstances of the moment.

No exertions—depend upon it—will be spared by Russia to gain H.R.H. over at the commencement of the new reign, and they are already on the watch. They have in view an explanation of the last Declaration of Neutrality so as to suit their never-lost-sight-of intention of shutting up the Baltic. The place for doing quarantine for both countries is already re-established at Kansoe in Sweden before vessels enter the Baltic. The closing the Baltic was the subject of conversation at St. Petersburg with the Swedish Ministers.

The British mediation between France and Sweden has given me a hold on the King's mind, and an influence here, which I have done all I can to improve.

I do not wish to attribute too much importance to this Mission, nor can I expect that the new Ministry should at once pay attention to this matter. But I cannot help thinking the Baltic is not to be neglected.

We have an active and intriguing enemy not only at the door, but also in the heart of this country—a long-established Mission, the head of which is respected and beloved, with an extensive command of Secret Service money—an established newspaper in his pay, and above £6000 a year to keep open house.

I, therefore, am but a small frigate alongside of a line of battleship. Still I have gained ground.

The other day the Russian Secretary of Legation asked the advice of the American Chargé d'Affaires, Hughes, on a certain point, who gave him advice.

He replied: "We would, but we can do nothing now on account of this English Mission. They do what they please at Court, we can no longer do anything."

I say this in the hope that *consequently* some portion of the plans sketched out in my dispatches as likely to establish and increase British influence may be carried into effect. . . . I will not trespass longer on your precious time. . . .

E. C. D. .

CHAPTER XXIII

1835-1836

Letters from Sir Brook Taylor—The Landgravine of Hesse Homberg.

LETTERS FROM SIR BROOK TAYLOR *to* SIR HERBERT TAYLOR.

St. Katharine's. June 15th, 1835.

MY DEAR HERBERT,

I cannot allow Charlotte to send her packet to St. James's this morning without a few lines to inform you that my arrangements are now all settled for my departure next Wednesday, and to assure you at the same time how much I feel obliged to you both for the very comfortable, long and agreeable stay I have made under your most hospitable roof.

I regret only that you have had so few opportunities of coming home yourself. . . .

I expect of course great public changes before my return, and if our present Government are not very cautious in the encouragement they may give to the Spanish Expedition this very question may possibly remove them. I have taken steps to secure the receipt of *Galignani's Messenger* during my stay at Carlsbad, and shall learn the principal events from it better than from any other newspaper.

Cassel. June 25th.

Charlotte may inform Lady Stuart that her gown has *not yet* been taken from me, and that I begin to hope to pass it safely through the Austrian and other Custom-houses.

My journey has been very prosperous as far as this, not having met with the smallest accident or difficulty. My carriage is in the highest order. To-morrow I shall proceed towards Carlsbad. I pass most of my time here with my old friend Heathcote. Yesterday I dined with the Electress, and am invited there again this evening.

Carlsbad. July 15th.

My last letter, addressed to my sister Mary, informed you of my intended visit the following day to the Dowager Queen

of Bavaria at Marienbad. Upon my return the day before yesterday, I found your kind letter of the 3rd July, and was very happy to receive so good an account of yourself and family as well as of the health of their Majesties. I wish I could hear at the same time that your work and worry was not incessant, but it does not surprise me, and I only wonder and rejoice at your continued very good health and spirits, and that you can attend to *everything* as in your younger days. I should be very happy, however, if you could be spared a little, and were at this moment employed as I am; I do not mean in drinking Carlsbad waters, but travelling, and even staying a little while with me at this place, as I am sure you would find a great deal to amuse you here. But, as this cannot be, I need not say more upon the subject, but will now report my proceedings to you since my last communication.

The answer I received from Marienbad informed me that the Queen of Bavaria¹ would be glad to see me on Saturday the 11th. I therefore set out at 6 o'clock a.m., and a room having been secured for me (the only one to be had at Marienbad, and which was engaged for the Princess Royal of Prussia the next day), I found an invitation upon my arrival to dine with Her Majesty at 3 o'clock. There were two gentlemen asked besides myself and her three attendants. I had fortunately been prepared to find her much altered, notwithstanding which, the change in her looks since I had seen her (only five years ago on my way from Berlin into Italy) was so great that it was quite painful to me, and her voice being almost lost, it was with the greatest difficulty indeed that I could understand her—particularly in the beginning—latterly (after her dinner) it got rather better. This disorder, however, does not prevent her from speaking as much as ever. She immediately asked after every one of our family in the kindest possible manner, desiring to be remembered to all, and talked over many events of past and present times in which we were more or less engaged. After dinner she said she should go to the *promenade*, and desired me to be there, and afterwards to sup with her. At supper she was pleased to express her desire that I would stay over the two next days, in order to be present at her birthday when many of her family would be with her. I should probably have been the only stranger among them. However, it was explained to her by her *Maréchal de Cour* that every possible inquiry had been made after lodgings, and there was not even a garret at that moment to be had in Marienbad. In the course of conversation she asked who the Queen of Portugal was likely to marry. I said that she seemed desirous it should be the brother of the poor late Duke of Leuchtenberg,

¹ She was one of the five daughters of the Margrave of Baden Baden, and had known the Taylor family ever since the early days at Carlsruhe.



SIR BROOK TAYLOR, G.C.B.

at which she expressed her horror, and that she would oppose it with all her might, should even the Duchess, his mother, agree to it, which, however, she was persuaded she never would.

I left Marienbad the following morning after another *promenade*.

Upon my return to my lodging here I found an invitation from the Grand Duchess Hélène to a Ball to celebrate the fête of the Empress of Russia on the 13th. I had not been presented to the Grand Duke Michel, but she was pleased in the morning to inform me that she would introduce me to him at the Ball. She accordingly did so, and he received me very graciously. You know that H.I.H. is not always very civil to strangers, and I may indeed say the same of the greater part of the Russians. They all, I am sure, dislike us cordially. No notice has been taken by them of any of the English except myself, not even the Strathavens. The few Austrians at this place are quite shocked at being so little noticed—and several of them left Carlsbad the day before the Ball—others declined the invitation because they said they could not leave off their mourning upon the occasion. The other strangers present were about half a dozen Prussians and about as many Bavarians. The number of Russians may have amounted to about 200. I dare say that many of the latter will now very soon leave Carlsbad, and the place will be improved by their departure. I find, however, that the Grand Duke and Grand Duchess have taken their house for three months, probably to make this their headquarters until the meeting in September of the two Emperors and the King of Prussia, and other great personages at Teplitz.

A Russian
fête at
Carlsbad.

Most people complain that Carlsbad is not so gay and pleasant as usual. I dare say I shall get as tired as the rest of the water drinkers before the end of my term; but I hope Bridges will not delay to join me in my tour. I intend to winter in Florence.

Salzburg. August 27th.

As you will no doubt have learnt the great alarm that exists in the North of Italy on account of the cholera, you will not, I dare say, be surprised to hear that I am induced to make some change in my plans which would otherwise have taken me direct from hence to Milan. It was there I begged you to have the goodness to direct your answer to my request of an extension of leave for my young and merry companion.¹ We have, however, heard at Prince Wrede's, in the neighbourhood where we have been staying the last four days, that no less than 14,000 passports had already been granted to persons

Cholera
in North
Italy.

¹ Bridges Taylor, his nephew—at that time a clerk in the Foreign Office. In after years British Consul at Elsinore.

leaving that place to avoid the danger, and upon my arrival here this morning I have also found a letter from my friend Seymour stating that the alarm was equally great at Florence, and persons going away in herds. He thinks that there have been no cases of real cholera there yet, but he is anxious to save me from the inconvenience of performing sixteen days of quarantine on the Tuscan or Lucchese frontier, and recommends roads that will not take me through Milan or Turin to get there. I have indeed never felt any fear from the illness itself, but I foresee great inconvenience and difficulty from the exposure to all the *Cordons Sanitaires* and other regulations which the Italians will no doubt adopt at present. My intention is therefore to give up Milan, and only go as far as *Meran* in the Tyrol, and then turn off to the right towards the Lake of Constance and through Zurich and Bern to Geneva. Bridges will, by the time we get there, nearly have completed his two months' leave, and as we cannot know if his prolonging his absence would be approved at the Foreign Office he will then leave me to return home, however sorry I shall feel to lose him. My own farther movements will be regulated by circumstances in Italy, where, after the first panic is over, I may perhaps be enabled to travel without much danger or trouble.

I must now, my dear Herbert, thank you for your very kind and interesting long letter of the 4th inst., which reached me at Prague. We stayed one whole day there, and then had to travel one night through (fortunately) an uninteresting country to get sufficiently in advance of the Grand Duchess Hélène and her Russian attendants with their one hundred post-horses coming the same road, not to be interfered with or delayed by them.

All the houses and lodgings at Ischel were engaged; we contrived, however, to get lodged for one night, and then came on to Prince Wrede's at Mondsee, five hours' drive from Ischel through a beautiful country. I had written to Prince Wrede from Carlsbad to ask if he could receive us both between the 20th and 25th, but did not find his answer at the post-house at Ischel as I expected. I felt quite certain, however, that some mistake must have occurred respecting it, and that he and his family would be very much surprised and displeased if I came so near without seeing them. I therefore took my chance of finding them at home, and I must say that I never met with a more cordial reception from any of my dearest friends. They not only expected us, but two letters had been sent to meet us, the first to Count Einsiedel's in Saxony, and the other to Ischel to the care of the postmaster. Prince Wrede said he had prepared a chamois *chasse* in the neighbouring mountains for us—and yesterday was the day fixed for it,

but unfortunately it rained so hard the whole day that we were obliged to give it up. The family intended to have left Mondsee on the 20th for Bavaria, but deferred their departure a week on our account. You may judge, therefore, how much I rejoice at this moment that I determined to go there without invitation. Bridges was quite delighted with them, nor did he fail to amuse them with his tricks and attempts at German. Two or three of my old Munich friends were staying with them, and we had occasional visitors from Ischel.

Geneva. September 23rd.

Bridges and I feel extremely obliged to you for your letter of the 6th inst., which I found upon my arrival here the night before last, and which informs us of the success of your kind application to Lord Palmerston for the extension of his leave.

We were very sorry to leave the Leghs, with whom we had passed three or four days very agreeably at Vevey. They had not quite decided whether to engage their house another month or not, but I think they cannot do better than stay where they are. We do not yet hear of the cholera having travelled as far as Naples, where they wish to go and have unfortunately taken a house from the 1st of October for six months; it can hardly, however, be expected that Naples will escape, and they would have difficulties without end to encounter on their way there.

Seymour's¹ letter to me is as far back as the 5th inst., at which period there had not been a single case of the disorder, but he mentions that at Leghorn one hundred persons were dying daily. I hope and trust that Louisa and Harriet Disbrowe are not much alarmed, and I am very anxious to learn whether their brother George and family have joined them.

The weather is so fine at present with so much appearance of its lasting that I have determined to follow the example of many of my compatriots by proceeding on Monday next to Chamounix with Bridges. We shall be away five or six days, and upon our return Bridges will prepare for his departure for England.

You may believe me that I have lost no opportunity to endeavour to impress upon the mind of my young companion the necessity of making better use of his time than I am aware he does in London, and I shall be very happy to find it may have a good effect. I rejoice, however, that you have also in the letter I have now before me, and in your previous one forwarded to Milan, noticed it as you do. I have repeated to him what you say, and he *promises* to follow our advice, and also that he will write and explain himself to you upon the subject.

¹ George Hamilton Seymour, Minister Resident at Florence.

Geneva. October 4th.

My last letter informed you of my intention to go to Chamounix. We have been most fortunate in our weather and have enjoyed the excursion extremely. Upon our return the day before yesterday I found my Milan letters, and amongst them yours of the 18th August. From the few lines contained in your subsequent letter addressed to me here respecting Bridges he was (as you already knew) prepared for your present lecture; I feel very happy, however, to have had the opportunity of showing it to him, not only because I entirely agree with you upon the subject of his inclination to idleness, but because I think your support of all I have long said to him and the great anxiety I have shown to get him to make better use of his time may have the very best effect. He is indeed, I am sorry to say, sadly ignorant of history, geography, and other studies quite necessary in his profession, and I have never seen him look into a book, except a novel or some trifling poetry. But he now promises most earnestly upon his return to London to do as we desire, and consequently to lead a very different life. I shall rejoice to hear that he does so. In the mean time I flatter myself that his present journey with me will in some respects prove of service to him. He was too fond of his ease and inclined to extravagance, both of which I have seriously noticed. With all this I have found him a good, cheerful companion, and never out of humour, nor offended at anything harsh I may in a hurry have said to him. He asked my leave to pay another visit to Mr. Legh¹ at Vevey, and accordingly went there this morning in the steamboat, having previously secured his place in the diligence to Paris for Friday next. I shall not wait his return here, but, in consequence of the information I have received from Sir A. Foster and other quarters, intend to set out from hence for Turin on Wednesday the 7th inst. Bridges took tender leave of me at 6 o'clock this morning, and expressed himself most gratefully for the tour we have made together and which we have happily accomplished without accident—a distance of at least 1500 miles, not reckoning the journey from London to Carlsbad.

Quarantine difficulties in Italy.

My own plans are to pass three days at Turin—to avoid all the smaller Italian States, viz. Parma, Lucca, Modena, etc., where the quarantine regulations are most troublesome—and go from Turin to Arona upon the Lago Maggiore to perform the required quarantine, a very good place on my way to Milan—to stay a week at Milan—then to Verona, Vicenza, and Venice—stay a week at Venice, after which I shall have to perform another quarantine of twelve or fourteen days upon entering the Roman territories, but none between Bologna and Florence.

I can hardly expect to arrive at Florence before the middle

¹ George Cornwall Legh, of High Legh.

of November; but before my arrival there I fear I must give up all hopes of receiving any letters from you or any of the family, particularly as I do not yet know exactly where my *Roman* quarantine will be kept, and where otherwise perhaps they might safely reach me.

I ought, by the by, to mention that Bridges will be enabled to stay five or six days with his father and mother at Paris, but that he is determined at all events, please God, to get to London the 21st inst. His leave will expire on the 23rd.

Many English continue to arrive here, both coming and going to Italy. Two or three families of my acquaintance are here. To-morrow I am to dine with a Swiss gentleman, Mons. Lullin, to meet Mr. Dawkins, our Minister from Greece, just arrived from Athens on his way to England. I may also obtain further information from him about the cholera. Sir A. Foster tells me that the accounts from Florence are excellent, but that it still rages with great violence at Leghorn.

My next letter to you or the Skelmersdales will be from Turin.

Modena. October 30th.

My last letter from Milan informed you, I think, of my intention to proceed from thence through Bergamo, Brescia, Verona, and Mantua on my way to Ferrara, in which direction alone I had been told it was possible to enter the Roman territory. I had hardly set out, however, before intelligence was received at Milan that the quarantine had been taken off in Parma and Modena. This, indeed, would have made no difference to me, as I preferred a road with which I was acquainted, and still had hopes of being able without much risk to get to Venice. The latter I could not accomplish, but was quite delighted with the rest, particularly with *Brescia*, which is one of the most beautiful towns in Italy, full of palaces, fountains, handsome churches, pictures, antiquities, and charming walks. I arrived on a Sunday at Verona, and although Verona. I had seen troops in abundance throughout Lombardy, I was particularly struck with the numbers I there met in the streets and market-place, the soldiers in their best clothes in about twenty different uniforms, and looking uncommonly well.

I was told that the next morning I might see 10,000 of these men (the garrison consisting altogether of 20,000) at work at the fortifications. The sight was indeed worth seeing, the repairs and extension of the works quite stupendous, and of course, with so many men employed in them, getting on most rapidly.

After running about, I believe at least ten or twelve miles, *not forgetting* in the course of my tour to visit *Juliet's tomb*, I received, upon my return to the inn, information which was far from agreeable. Some English gentlemen were arrived there

who had according to their instructions taken the road to Ferrara on their way to Rome, but upon reaching the frontier where the Lazaretto is established, they were not allowed to pass, and told to go into the Lazaretto to perform fourteen days quarantine, no distinction whatever being made between persons coming from healthy or infected countries. The first demand was sixty crowns for a single bed, with I don't know how many persons in the same room; but when they looked at the place they found it so filthy, so wretched, so horrible, that they were quite disgusted and returned here immediately. I continued my route to Mantua, and upon inquiry at the police there I found that my friend Mr. Ingram and his family had been through, leaving word that they were gone to Modena. This also appeared to me the best thing to be done, for although the account of the Lazaretto established between this place and Bologna is more unfavourable still than the other—this one having very recently served as a prison for convicts, and situated in the most unwholesome spot in the country—hopes were expressed to me that the Papal government would in a few days take off the quarantine; and at all events the option remained of taking another road, though a bad one and not a post road, across the Apennines through Pistoja to Florence.

I accordingly came on here the day before yesterday. The first inn I went to was full, but at the second, which is happily a very comfortable one, I found Mr. Ingram who had very kindly secured a room for me. Mr. and Mrs. Hare and children had arrived at the other with their voiturier horses from Parma about an hour before me. They came and spent the evening with us and continued their route the following morning (yesterday) to Florence *by Pistoja*. I might have followed their example to-day, but have felt afraid of overtaking them, and have, therefore, made my agreement with a voiturier to go to-morrow—we shall be four days on the road. . . .

But there have been many English families here and in the neighbourhood who have *not been* at Venice (the supposed infected quarter) whose wish is to get to Rome without passing through Tuscany, whose passports are in perfect order, who are provided with the required certificates of health, and have already completed their quarantine in Lombardy according to the instructions of the Papal government to their own agent, the Roman Consul at Milan, under whose directions we have been guided.

It is not, however, the English alone who are complaining and protesting against this most extraordinary conduct of the Roman government. The Austrians cannot get their provisions and stores and military chest with the money for their troops into the Roman States—and there is so much discontent, that it is thought even probable that their absurd *Cordons Sanitaires*,

if they should last a very few days longer, will be *forced* by the Austrian soldiers near Fort Urbino (the Lazaretto), where they are suffering dreadfully from the unhealthiness of the climate.

The Roman government are of course doing the greatest injury to their own country by this continued interruption of all intercourse with their neighbours. But I shall be too late for the post if I add another line, so adieu for the present. I intended to have written to Skelmersdale from this place, but shall do so from Florence.

Love to all.

There is a beautiful collection of pictures at the palace here. I went there yesterday, and shall repeat my visit to-day.

Florence. February 25th, 1836.

I have requested Seymour to send this letter to you immediately upon his arrival in town, and that he will beg you will let him know in reply when and where he may find you. His successor at this Court,¹ Mr. Abercrombie, arrived here yesterday, and he has, in consequence, fixed upon Monday next, the 29th, to set out for England. Mrs. Seymour will join him at Brussels in the spring, not being sufficiently recovered from her confinement to be enabled to accompany him upon his journey, though in other respects perfectly well. . . .

Mr. Abercrombie is now my nearest neighbour in my hotel, and he has been kind enough to come and see me. He seems very gentlemanly, but in delicate health. We are on the second floor, he having taken the rooms lately inhabited by Lady Westmeath. The first floor is now entirely occupied by Lady Clinton and Sir Horace Seymour and family who arrived a week ago. Of course since my illness I have been unable to see Louisa and Harriet Disbrowe, but I intend to pay them a visit as soon as possible. The weather has been very much against the latter since the beginning of this month, and unfortunately still continues so. Much as Seymour will be regretted generally none will, I am sure, feel and lament his departure more than your sisters-in-law. The interest he has shown in all their concerns, and his attentions to them ever since they have been here, have been quite brotherly.

February 26th.—I had the pleasure of seeing the Miss Disbrowes yesterday, and found Harriet walking about the room, which I had not seen her do for some weeks past. She was in very good spirits, but not quite rid of her cough.

You will receive from Seymour some sketches of statues upon the subject of which I will add a separate postscript to this.

¹ As Minister Resident.

P.S.—*February 27th.*—I had been at Florence about six weeks when an application was made to me by a distinguished sculptor here named Pozzi to beg your kind mention of him to His Majesty. His works are so much admired by all amateurs and best judges of the art at Florence that I agreed (although giving him very little encouragement as to the final result) to forward to you the sketches of two or three of his groups.

No. 1.—Has been finished some time and was engaged to the late Lord Wenlock, but after quarrelling with the artist he declined to take it. It is, however, one of the most beautiful specimens of modern sculpture, and would have been bought over and over again, if the subject was less objectionable. The sketch, indeed, gives but an imperfect idea of it, particularly of the beauty of the *Nymph*.

No. 2.—Is not quite finished, but is also a very pretty group.

No. 3.—He is now working at in clay—in other words, modelling, and promises to be the favourite, particularly as a newer subject in marble (*Susannah*) than the *Flora*, No. 2.

Mr. Pozzi would be more flattered by His Majesty's commands than I can express; and he would, I am persuaded, exert himself to the utmost to bring to perfection whichever work His Majesty might be pleased to order. Either of the latter would be very ornamental in a gallery or boudoir.

The necessary arrangements with respect to conveyance, payment, etc., I could easily settle here.

The rest of Mr. Pozzi's works in his atelier consists of casts only of various groups, statues, and busts sent to the Duke of Devonshire, Lord Pembroke, Townley Parker, etc., etc., etc.

Florence. February 28th.

I must add a few lines to the enclosed to thank you for your kind letter from Brighton of the 15th. Yesterday's post also brought me a letter from Lathom,¹ which, if you have an opportunity, I beg you will tell Skelmersdale I shall answer in the course of two or three days.

It is with pleasure I hear that you are to have the assistance in your *Chancellerie* of Hudson² upon his return from Constantinople. How you manage to get through all your business as it is I cannot conceive, but there are of course very few persons to whom you can apply to help you.

The majority of forty-one for Ministers upon the Address certainly surprised me much. O'Connell's question must be very embarrassing for the Government, disposed as some of them seem to be to support him. Stanley was, I think, excellent in his reply to him, and could not, I think, avoid speaking upon the occasion after the attack made upon him. I am, as you

¹ Lathom House, Lord Skelmersdale's residence.

² Afterwards Sir James Hudson, British Minister at Turin.

may suppose, looking forward very anxiously for our next Parliamentary proceedings at this important moment. As to Foreign Affairs, I still hope that peace may be continued.

P.S.—*My speculation* is going on, I think, *prosperously* though very slowly. But I expect some of the pictures to be delivered to me in the course of next week. The principal dealers here give as a reason why they have not themselves entered into it, that they would have had much more difficulty and trouble and delay at the Tribunal and other public offices concerned in it, than I can meet as a stranger; and they may now expect to get some of the articles very cheap from me, which of course they will do.

Speculation in picture buying.

Florence. March 31st.

I must write a few lines to you by the English messenger who is just returned from Naples on his way to England. You will be glad to hear that my picture-dealing is going on well. The whole collection I have lately mentioned to you was delivered to me by the Tribunal on Monday last. I have kept fifteen of the pictures for myself, besides a few drawings and a little Terra Cotta group. The sale of the rest began yesterday, and produced 350 dollars. The result of this morning's work has not yet been reported to me, but I have every reason to expect it to have been equally favourable, and that my expenses will in the end be fully covered—in short, that I shall have my pictures for *nothing*, after paying my agent and buying three or four new frames.

Among the best pictures I have kept are two portraits of the Medici family by Bronzino, our Saviour and the Magdalene by Pontormo, and two or three small pictures by Andrea del Sarto, Empoli, Albani, etc.

My agreeable neighbours in this hotel, Sir Horace Seymour and Lady Clinton, have, like most of the English here, caught the mania of buying pictures, but confine their purchases at present to good copies from the principal galleries; they intend, I am sorry to say, to leave Florence in about a fortnight.

Our sister Mary¹ sent us an excellent account of dear little Chaddy,² of her beauty, pleasing and most affectionate manner, etc., etc.

Florence. April 21st. 2 p.m.

I must write one line to you to acquaint you that Louisa and Harriet Disbrowe have this moment left Florence in very fine weather, and which there is every appearance will continue

¹ Lady Skelmersdale.

² Charlotte Mary Louisa, Sir H. Taylor's daughter.

so. They cannot have a more comfortable carriage; and as they will not be more than four hours on their road to-day to Pistoja, I trust Harriet will not feel much fatigued, particularly as she has lately been out daily in her carriage two or three hours. Their journey to-morrow from Pistoja to Lucca is not much longer, and of course Louisa will immediately inform you of their arrival there. I shall be equally anxious to hear from them.

On the 2nd or 3rd I shall go to Bologna for a few days and then return this way.

Florence. May 14th.

Having in my last letter to you announced my intention to leave Florence this very day, I write again to inform you that I have deferred my departure till Tuesday, or Wednesday, the 18th. I have concluded my purchase of pictures with the acquisition of a beautiful Landscape by Poussin—authenticated by the best judges here, and called by an English artist, Mr. Kirkup, *the Essence of Gaspar's Pencil*.

I have been to Bologna, but to get there had to pass through a great deal of snow in the mountains. On my return, however, after four or five days' stay there, the road was clear, and I accomplished the journey in eleven and a half hours. There are also plenty of good pictures to be sold there, but I bought none, having already more for myself than I want.

Of your old friends I saw only Lady Sophia Marescotti and her husband, and a frightful old woman—Contessa Marsigli, formerly very intimate with our sisters as Contessina Rossi.

I expect to come up with the Miss Disbrowes at Genoa, though I intend to pass a couple of days at Lucca and the same at Carrara on my way there. Poor Harriet, I fear, has suffered very much from fatigue. They are certainly getting on very slowly, requiring after every thirty miles' journey *three or four days' rest*, at which rate they may be six months on their road to Paris. It must, however, be considered that they have as yet had very unfavourable weather for their journey.

Marseilles. June 13th.

I believe in my last letter to you from Genoa I promised that my next should be from Nismes. I have no good reason, however, for deferring so long to write to you, more particularly as I am detained a little longer here than I expected by an important personage—*my washer-woman*.

The day before my departure from Genoa, after I had written to you, I had the satisfaction of hearing from Louisa D. from Alessandria that she and Harriet had arrived there in the morning of their second day's journey, and that the latter had accomplished it not without fatigue, but did not appear the



*Charlotte Mary Louisa,
daughter of Sir Herbert & Lady Taylor.
(from a miniature painting)*

worse for it, and had slept very well the preceding night. I was then within reach, if my services had been wanted—after which, however, Sir A. Foster could be of more use to them—and some of our friends, the Goochs, and Thellusson, left Genoa together for Turin the morning of my departure and would see them on the road; and the day after, the Selseys, who had arrived at Genoa on their way to Chambery, would also overtake them—not that poor Lord Selsey in his deplorable state can assist anybody, but *she* is an excellent person, and is intimately acquainted with them, so that I have felt no uneasiness as to want of assistance as far as Turin; but I confess I am more alarmed with respect to their journey from Turin to Paris, and am anxious to hear that it will be possible for George D. to meet his sisters at Turin or at least at Chambery, as far as which Sir A. Foster may find means of affording his services and protection to them.

You have no doubt heard so much of the Corniche Road from the many travellers who have of late years been in Italy that I could give you no new information regarding it. I had, however, heard too much of its beauties, and have been rather disappointed. As a winter residence I should certainly prefer Nice to Genoa—there are a few rides and walks, and room to breathe in the former, which is not the case at Genoa. Toulon is the place which has interested me the most, but I must tell you that before I got there, near the little town of Cannes, my postillion showed me Lord Brougham's house which he is building close to the road. It is small—of stone—with a kitchen garden and vineyard round it—only the roof and outer walls are up—and as far as I can judge the rooms will be very low. There is a good view from it, and it looks exactly upon the spot (which I conclude was one of his principal objects), where Buonaparte landed from Elba. Another object from his windows, but which cannot give him the same pleasure, is the island of Ste. Marguerite with the fort or castle in which the celebrated *Iron Mask* was confined. The next post is *Fréjus*, which I had always heard mentioned as the place of landing of Buonaparte from Egypt. It is, however, at least a couple of miles from the sea; and *St. Raphael*, a small village a few miles farther on the coast, was pointed out to me as the precise spot. The frigate that conveyed him I afterwards saw in Toulon, now fitted up for court martials.

Lord
Brougham's
house at
Cannes.

You may perhaps remember that in the course of my expedition in the Mediterranean in 1810 I was with our fleet off Toulon on board the "Ville de Paris" about a fortnight. We were occasionally near enough to distinguish everything in the outer harbour, and I have since felt very anxious to have another view of it. I obtained leave without difficulty to see the arsenal, docks, inner harbour, etc., all of which are extremely

1836. well worth seeing. I was two or three hours about it before dinner; after which I took a boat, and went as far as the entrance of the outer harbour. My guide, and an old boatman, answered my questions satisfactorily enough, but being both old enough to remember the affair at Toulon in 1793 they spoke of it with much more delight than of the long English blockade of their town. As to the latter they said they had taken an English frigate (the "Proserpine"), pointing out the place to me where she had evidently got aground. I do not, however, remember the particulars of her loss. But upon the subject of the attack on the English and Spanish troops at Toulon by Napoléon, for to him alone (not to the French Commander-in-Chief) they gave credit for all that was done, they pointed out to me where the English General was wounded and taken prisoner—where the English had been attacked and driven from fort to fort and into their boats. I told them that we never had any thoughts of *keeping* Toulon, but it required some time during the attack to secure and take out the French ships. They answered, however, that we could not have done this without the assistance of the greater part of the inhabitants.

The case is that towards the sea Toulon is very strong indeed, but it appears to me that the town cannot be defended against land forces; all the forts are governed by the heights, and the fortifications are all on the sea-side, towards the harbour.

Three thousand convicts (*galeriens*) are employed in the arsenal and other public works; one soldier looks after ten of them—many of them, however, are chained together, and the chains are very heavy. They beg and are very noisy. . . .

I cannot praise the roads in this neighbourhood, but am told they are very good in the direction I am going, to Avignon and Nismes, where I hope to hear from or of you from some of the family.

God bless you, my dear Herbert,
Yours most affectionately,
B. T.

THE DOWAGER LANDGRAVINE OF HESSE HOMBURG to
SIR H. TAYLOR.

Homburg. September 23rd, 1836.

This post I only write a line to thank you for your letter, and to beg of you to express my gratitude for the sheep. The moment they arrive you shall have another letter. My servant will be upon the look-out and will send a safe man to land them.

By this time you will have received a note from me inquiring after dear Charlotte. I am sure my sisters will send me word how both Charlotte and Louisa are. I must ever think poor Harriet's¹ release a blessed one when one thinks of the length of her sufferings. The more I think of Louisa's conduct the more perfect I consider it. Thank God her brothers were able to be with her.

Thank you much concerning Venable's sketches.

You know not the delight it will be to me to possess these pictures of my family.

My building is going on well. The Landgrave is always kind and good about everything. They all say here that England has electrified him, for he talks of nothing else. . . .

With love to Charlotte,

I remain,

Yours sincerely,

ELIZA.

The Dowager Landgravine had been a widow since 1829, and after her husband's death she had lived mostly in Hanover. The Princess was the third daughter of George III.

During her life she was constantly engaged in philanthropic works. She possessed also considerable artistic gifts. Both before and after marriage many of her drawings and designs were engraved and published—generally in co-operation with the epigrams and poems of Sir J. B. Burges, William Coombe (Doctor Syntax), and others.

¹ Lady Taylor's sister, Harriet Disbrowe (whose protracted journey from Florence has been referred to by Sir Brook in some of his letters), died soon after her return to England.

CHAPTER XXIV

1836-1837

Letters: Sir Lionel Smith—Sir Edward Disbrowe—Sir H. Taylor—Sir John Keane—Lord Elphinstone.

MAJOR-GENERAL SIR LIONEL SMITH (1778-1842) had lately succeeded the Marquis of Sligo as Captain-General and Commander-in-Chief of Jamaica. He found great difficulties to contend with here; and in endeavouring to correct abuses after the emancipation of the slaves in 1838 he incurred extreme unpopularity amongst the proprietors and managers of estates.¹

SIR LIONEL SMITH to SIR H. TAYLOR.

Jamaica. December 18th, 1836.

MY DEAR SIR,

I have lately received your very kind letter announcing to me that His Majesty had been graciously pleased to confer upon me the Grand Cross of the Guelphic Order, which also arrived at the same time.

Nothing could come more opportunely to strengthen my hands and support my humble endeavours to save this fine colony from imminent perils.

British
misrule in
Jamaica. The misrule of my predecessors has been perfectly frightful in consequences, till we have almost arrived at a Mob Government.

I will bring things round if the Colonial Office will allow me, but they have been dreadfully deceived as to the real state of the colony.

Do not believe what you may hear against the planters: they have been cruelly misrepresented, yet no injuries have shaken their loyalty to the King who they remember came amongst them, and who has always been attached to his colonies.

Believe me, your very faithful humble servant,

LIONEL SMITH.

P.S.—I shall have your letter with the King's signet

¹ See "Dictionary of National Biography."

framed, to be handed down to my only son, now three years and a half old.

L. S.

The Princess Victoria.

SIR EDWARD DISBROWE to SIR H. TAYLOR.

The Hague. January 5th, 1837.

. . . I now revert to the subject of the Prince of Orange. I do not enter into the question of the advantage of which, in a political point of view, I suppose there can be no doubt; but confine myself merely to the best way of carrying it into execution *if* it is resolved on.

The sending the young man to Oxford is, you think, too strong a step; perhaps it is too late to do so. But if you are to show him off to advantage, he must be separated from his father positively, and even from his elder brother.

In the presence of the first, or even under his immediate influence he is so cowed that he is good for nothing—and “faint heart never won fair lady.” He is so much accustomed to hunt in couples with his brother that this will be an impediment likewise. His visit to England has given him the germ of independence which I think may be improved; and he is sufficiently docile to be made something of, if attempted before the effect is worn off.

Of the difficulties in the way in England, and of the advantages of the young Coburg¹ I say nothing, as I do not know enough to appreciate them, and I am so well aware of the disadvantages of an unsuccessful attempt that I am far from anxious to have anything to do with it. I only mention it because from your letters you seemed personally to desire it, and have even broken the ice.

At this time of year I have many opportunities of seeing the Prince of Orange, and could speak without committing any one.

Are you aware what a difficult man the father is to deal with? He will understand your meaning with wonderful quickness. If he likes the project he will adopt it with enthusiasm, but you cannot count on his steadiness; and he is apt to leave his friends in the lurch—I believe more from *ennui* of following out a plan than from other causes. His parsimony also has degenerated into absolute shabbiness. His allowance to each of his sons does not exceed £160 per annum,

¹ Prince Albert of Saxe-Coburg (afterwards the Prince Consort) and Prince Alexander of Orange had both been in England during the previous summer, and had met Princess Victoria on several occasions.

1837. out of which they pay their masters ; and when in London they frequently had not a shilling to pay for going into a panorama or other sight. It was sometimes borrowed, and not always repaid.

When he goes to his headquarters he accepts a military billet which most of the other Generals do not do any longer ; and previously to setting out he signs with his own hand the bill of fare for the Princess's dinner every day, and she cannot ask an additional person.

. . . I have contrived to settle the Slave Trade which was referred to Bagot and Jerningham ; and I believe also the Treaty of Commerce and Navigation, at least in most of its Articles.

Spain.

Spain appears to me gone beyond redemption, but if we do not interfere, all parties without a treaty of commerce will buy as much of our goods as we can sell, or they pay for. The Government being nil, the taxes on importation will be nil in fact ; and there exists so much in that country to exploit that probably our commerce will not suffer in the aggregate.

But Portugal is different. We have exploited it, and ought at all hazards to re-establish an interest there by sending a man who will go through the labour and toil of living among them and with them, who will proclaim that he interferes with no party, *not even the Miguelites*, and who will continue that language until he is sufficiently well established to give out his private opinion in transactions, and who will feel his ground until he can regain with one party or other an English sympathy, when indirect assistance must be made use of to cause that party to triumph, be it that of 1826, 1822, or Miguelite.

If the person selected is a man of sound judgment and enjoys the confidence of his own Government, our assistance must be of so much use to any party that it must end in becoming a paramount influence.

As to France she cannot long exist as she is. Louis Philippe must ultimately fall. The *juste milieu* and the timid of all sorts will rally round the Duke of Orléans ; but it is because his party is so composed that it must be destroyed. Besides this party we shall have the Royalists and the Republicans—the former in La Vendée and behind the Loire ; the latter in the North and extreme South. Those of the North will again revolutionize Belgium, for I do not think Leopold has much hold there.

Holland
and
Belgium.

And this brings me to my own door, for of Italy I do not speak. What is to be the result here ? Certainly not the return of Belgium to the sceptre of the House of Orange ; not but what among other parties an Orange Party will declare

itself; but the first step will be the occupation of Luxembourg 1837. by Prussia, and possibly the advance of a Dutch army on Antwerp, as a diversion in favour of the Prussians, as it will be called.

Our Government must then decide whether she will adhere to the Protocols or not, or allow a division of Belgium, giving Limbourg on the one side, and Antwerp, etc., on the coast to Holland, and making the question of the additional barrier a German question. Something of this sort must happen if Louis Philippe falls.

This country (England) will not be revolutionized, and I am calculating on the good sense of Englishmen preventing our Government from falling into the hands of O'Connell, but if he is to be the real Dictator this session I tremble for the consequences.

. . . If matters go on as they have done, it appears to me we may settle the Belgian question in a couple of years by being quiet; but if the assassination of Louis Philippe takes place I think we ought to court this country.

With a protecting influence here and in Portugal, and quiet at home, we may defy the world, as Prussia, whose influence here is not very great, will have enough to do in Germany (of which she holds now the real sceptre), and in watching France and Russia, which will deter her from taking any steps hostile to us.

The end of our alliance with France is the signal of a better understanding with Austria, who, I fear, will find sufficient occupation in Italy. In such a state of things the question of Algiers becomes less important, or rather will settle itself.

But I forget that you have less time to read than I do to write, so I will not steer East; and I request that you will not suppose that I am led away by my Dutch feeling in talking of a division of Belgium. Far from it. But if we are separated from France, and Belgium is consequently revolutionized, Prussia (or Russia and Prussia united) will bid for Holland on some such terms as I have stated, and perhaps Prussia will annex the condition of an accession to her commercial league. It is a question which demands deep consideration, and ought not to be postponed too long.

Ever, my dear Taylor,

Yours, with truest affection,

E. C. D.

SIR H. TAYLOR *to* LORD FREDERICK FITZCLARENCE.

In which Sir. H. Taylor disagrees with Lord Frederick's contention as to the King's supposed want of favour and patronage towards the Fitz-Clarence family.

Brighton. February 24th, 1837.

MY DEAR LORD FREDERICK,

I have received your letter of the 13th inst., and you cannot be surprised to learn, that after attentive perusal of it, I have not thought fit to submit, or read it, to the King, although I mentioned to His Majesty that I had received one from you, and described its general purport, and object, as far as I could understand it.

Upon the question of a due sense of favours received, and gratitude for paternal kindness and indulgence, we feel so differently that it would be no easy matter to establish any accord between our views, but here the case rests upon its own grounds, and not upon this or that description, or construction, of it.

You appear to complain that His Majesty's money (as you call it) is equally divided between sons and daughters; but allowing any claim to primogeniture in this case, could you assert it? could you share otherwise than as a younger child? and is not that division of which you complain one of common occurrence and usage? And surely some credit and gratitude also are due to the King, for having contrived in little more than six years, after paying off a heavy debt, to give to his children, or to pay for them, nearly £30,000 each, besides their current annual allowances.

But the most extraordinary part of your letter is that in which you accuse the King of having done nothing, and made no application for Lord Augustus, although he had applied to Lord Melbourne in favour of Mr. Wood. Surely your memory fails you, and at any rate I can certify His Majesty's application to successive Ministers, not excepting Lord Melbourne, in favour of Lord Augustus—the latter's rejection of a Prebendary of Worcester, the King's intention of conferring upon him a Canonry of Windsor, and the negotiations which were carried on, to prevent his abruptly refusing that also.

I can certify that Lord Augustus has received his full share of "His Majesty's money," and that he has never expressed any acknowledgment for this; or any other favour; nay, when he learnt that his sister was to be married under his father's roof, he declined to perform the ceremony; and after all this, you mention that ingratitude towards the King is justifiable because he applies for a living for so respectable a clergyman and so good a subject as Mr. Wood.

The whole of your reasoning strives to establish that the King is to be thanked for nothing, and that between him and his sons gratitude is a sentiment which cannot exist; and you proceed to other questions besides these which I have noticed. But, as before said, your feelings and mine differ so widely *on this subject*, that we can never hope to be able to reconcile them, and I will therefore drop it here.

You proceed to a detail of your personal income, its amount, subject to the King's life, and contingent reduction; and you desire me to let you know whether you can or may look forward to anything certain, and to let you know the worst, that you may shape your plans accordingly. I really do not understand you, and I can only ascribe this to my dulness of comprehension.

I am quite ready to apply to the King for any information His Majesty may think fit to give, if the question is put in an explicit shape, but I cannot submit riddles.

Believe me to remain,

My dear Lord Frederick,

Very sincerely yours,

H. TAYLOR.

The main subject of the following letter and the few lines from Lord Elphinstone exhibit the intense feeling in India for and against the attitude of the Government towards native worship and superstition. Sir John Keane had been Commander-in-Chief at Bombay since 1834. Lord Elphinstone had lately arrived at Madras as Governor.

SIR JOHN KEANE *to* SIR H. TAYLOR.

Bombay Headquarters, Holly Lodge. April 7th, 1837.

MY DEAR SIR HERBERT,

. . . I think I am not likely again to meet in the remainder of my service in the East the same vexations which I had on first assuming office here. I feel that I have considerably purified my charge since I have been chief, and that I shall, when my day comes, be able to hand over this army with a different spirit to what it breathed in '34; indeed the officers alone required the screw, for there never were such well-conducted men in the world as the native soldiers. As a proof of the amendment, we have not had a court martial for nine months; and really except for some five or six old women who hold to place like leeches, this army is as effective as the service in India can require, or its best wisher desire.

I think in regard to the policy which has of late been thought necessary (and said to be a boon to India) that "mischievous" is the most suitable expression.

1837.

The acts of these great men have very materially altered the system that was in practice ; and I have no hesitation in saying that they have shaken our security and possession of the Empire.

First Lord William Bentinck abolishing corporal punishment in the native army,¹ pointing it out as a disgrace which was left in force on Christian soldiers. That this has not led to a catastrophe up to this moment, we have not his Lordship to thank. His wisdom and power tempted the fates, and although I never dreaded a commotion among the Europeans of the Bombay army, I was not without fears for a strong show of it both in Bengal and Madras.

Then comes the order of Sir Charles Metcalfe, giving an unlimited fling to the Press, the licentiousness of which is every hour more apparent ; and aided by it, the march of so-called religious instruction is making rapid strides.

It seems to me we are again approaching to a state of things which will illustrate the mystical portions of Hudibras ! “ If hypocrisy be the tribute which vice pays to virtue, the source of revenue is daily increasing.”

But, my friend, what will you say and feel when you read the enclosed Memorial,² got up and signed by the ministers of the Gospel and others, civil and military servants of the Hon. Company, above all, by the Secretaries of Government.

What is more likely as a public act to raise a flame in India ? Why the interference set forth in that Memorial, trampling on the rights, usages, and religious observances of the natives, which have hitherto been held sacred and secured by the approval of the highest authority ?

At my leave-taking dinner at the Albion I made a pledge to my Honble. Masters³ that I would observe a warm interest towards the welfare of the army, and at the same time maintain a creditable discipline in it.

Under the circumstances of such a case as is now before you, how is authority to be upheld when officers conceive they can meet or join in mixed meetings, and discuss subjects of the gravest nature, even one which could not but embarrass the Government, and, I must add, shake the very foundation of our security in the Empire ?

This mischievous instrument came forth when I was on the

¹ This order was afterwards annulled by Lord Hardinge when he was Governor-General of India.

² This Memorial—a very long one—was addressed to the Rt. Hon. Sir Robert Grant, Governor in Council at Bombay. It was signed by Archdeacon C—r, many other clergymen, various military officers and civil servants, etc. Its object was to make a strong protest against the encouragement which Government had hitherto given to idolatrous and superstitious worship among the natives of India.

³ The Honourable East India Company.

Northern tour, and I heard when up the country that it had 1837. made a sensation. When I returned I inquired sharply after its proceedings, and found that the venerable the Archdeacon, with his supporters, the ministers of the Gospel, were only waiting to give it weight (by gaining a certain number of signatures) to send it officially to Government—so that the intention was the same as if it had been presented.

The moment I saw the pamphlet called "The Oriental Christian Spectator," which contained the Memorial and names, I confess I felt disgusted seeing such names to such a proceeding; and my fixed determination was to cripple it.

As Commander-in-Chief who had no knowledge of the document, and who had given no authority to those under my command to assemble for that or any other purpose, I instantly desired that every officer who had signed the Memorial should be called upon to acknowledge whether the signature said to be, *was* his act, and if answered in the affirmative, to withdraw his name. . . .

By this prompt measure the Memorial never was complete. It never was sent to Government, nor had the Government any *official* knowledge of it.

It is now sinking as a dead letter, but nevertheless the spirit lives amongst the canting tribe this country (India) is blessed (or rather cursed) with, styled ministers of the Gospel, aided as they are by a set of low-lived missionaries like locusts feeding on the fat of the land. Since the work of cruel ruin which I witnessed at Jamaica, the name of missionary is a draught of poison to me.

Archdeacon C—r is now about to leave this for England to be consecrated, it is said. He expresses some fears for his mitre. *Well he may!* For I unhesitatingly say that he and every one of his cloth who are coupled with him in that rash act should be stripped of their gowns.

I can hope, and do from my heart, that he is never Bishop'd; but if he is, he should be sent to Swan River, for, to my view and experience in this land, he is the greatest enemy to the Company's possessions in it.

I should like to hear Lord Elphinstone's opinion on the Memorial, and on the consequences, had it been acted upon.

Now for the officers who wish to be considered soldiers, Lieut.-Colonel Wood taking a foremost place in that tragedy, particularly as Secretary to Government in the Military Department, was monstrous.

He was received to be the mainspring of the military body who were attending the meeting, and it had got into circulation that his acting as he did was supposed to have the concurrence of Government. That vile report, which was a libel on our worthy Governor and his Government, was used in many

instances to invite the young and thoughtless to subscribe their names. It was the greatest possible injustice to Sir Robert Grant, who when he had spoken to me in private on the subject has distinctly pronounced it to be very objectionable.

A parallel Memorial was got up at Madras, and was signed by both civil and military servants, and actually presented to the Government and rejected. There the offence was complete, but what Madras has done is no rule to me. While I serve in India I will firmly support the Company's rights and best interests, and never allow any of my charge to transgress.

This is the view I take of it, and I very much deplore that a single officer under my command had anything to do with it.

Believe me always, my dear Sir Herbert,

Yours sincerely,
JOHN KEANE.

Lord Elphinstone's letter is more restrained :—

LORD ELPHINSTONE¹ to SIR H. TAYLOR.

Madras. April 20th, 1837.

MY DEAR SIR HERBERT,

. . . I have not time to touch on public matters. I must, however, notice the serious evil which *may* result to this country, or rather to our Dominion here, from the well-intentioned efforts of the over-zealous who wish to drive on the Government in a course which they are inclined to pursue, but which they ought to be allowed to follow cautiously and slowly, I mean in withdrawing our countenance from the native superstitions.

It is of great importance to send out persons of sound judgment who are not easily led away by their good feelings on this very delicate subject.

I have written to Sir John Hobhouse about it, and I really trust that he will consider the suggestion which I ventured to make to him favourably, and that our new Bishop may be a man of good sense as well as of piety and conduct.

I have had difficulties with Sir Peregrine Maitland, but I am glad to think they are at rest.

Believe me, my dear Sir Herbert,

Yours very sincerely,
ELPHINSTONE.

¹ Lately appointed Governor at Madras.

CHAPTER XXV

THE DEATH OF KING WILLIAM IV. AND THE DAWN OF THE VICTORIAN ERA

Letters: William IV.—Lord Brougham—Lord Melbourne—James Hudson—Lord Grey—Lord Chief Commissioner Adam—Sir James Kempt—Sir Benjamin Stephenson—Lord Hill—Lord Holland—Lord Palmerston; Sir H. Taylor's Reply—His Advice to Urquhart—The Duchess of Gloucester—G. P. R. James—The Duke of Cambridge—Lady Denbigh.

WILLIAM IV. to THE EARL OF MUNSTER.¹

April 16th, 1837.

DEAR GEORGE,

I have this instant received yours of 14th inst. from Brighton, and must say, with real satisfaction, it has given me sincere pleasure, and is only an additional proof of that goodness of heart which I know you to possess, and for which, at all times, I have given you full credit.

My affection for yourself and all your brothers and sisters is, and ever will be, unaltered; and the only difference that has arisen between you and me has been that you have not considered that I have a double duty to perform, as King and father. In every other respect your entire conduct has been such as, in both my capacities, to merit my esteem and approbation.

I have, therefore, only to conclude by stating that my conduct towards *all* my children will, and must be, guided by the duties of the Sovereign and the affection of a truly fond parent, and that whenever you shall feel inclined to return to my roof, the Castle at Windsor, the Pavilion at Brighton, and the Palace at St. James's will be opened to you and yours with perfect satisfaction on my part.

God bless you, and I ever remain, dearest George,
Your most truly affectionate father,

WILLIAM R.

P.S.—In my situation, having the double duty of King and father to perform, I must make one observation, that however

¹ The eldest son of the King by hismorganatic marriage with Mrs. Jordan.

I do certainly approve generally of your conduct, I cannot but regret you have estranged yourself from my house, and trust, therefore, I shall shortly see you, and shall ever remain,
 Yours most affectionately,

WILLIAM R.

May 24th, 1837, was the last occasion on which the Princess Victoria celebrated her birthday before ascending the throne; and as—on completing her eighteenth year—she had (according to Royal custom) come of age, there were special public rejoicings. King William gave a State Ball in her honour at St. James's Palace.

A few days afterwards he wrote her an affectionate letter, offering to place £10,000 a year at her disposal, but independently of her mother. This was accepted.

The relationship between King William and the Duchess of Kent had always been strained, and at a banquet given to celebrate his own birthday in the previous year the King had candidly "expressed his hope that he might live until the Princess came of age, so that the Kingdom might be spared the Regency which Parliament had assigned to the Duchess."

It will be seen, therefore, that the King had his wish gratified, as his death took place on June 20th, nearly a month after the Princess had attained her majority.

LORD BROUGHAM to SIR H. TAYLOR.

Berkeley Square. Monday, June 12th, 1837.

MY DEAR SIR H.,

I write you a few lines in order to prevent the possibility of your supposing that I feel otherwise than extremely anxious respecting the King's illness. No one who had the honour of being for so considerable a time in H.M.'s service, and of receiving so many marks of his confidence and condescending kindness, can feel differently. But accidental circumstances having deprived me for some time past of the opportunity of paying my respects to H.M. I am desirous of letting *you* know that I do not on this account the less interest myself in his recovery, which I very sincerely hope may be speedy and sure.

I need hardly add that this letter is entirely for your own eye, and that I do not even wish to give you the trouble of answering it.

Believe me, dear Sir H.,

Faithfully yours,

H. BROUGHAM.



KING WILLIAM IV.

LORD MELBOURNE to SIR H. TAYLOR.

South Street. June 16th, 1837.

I have to request that you will state upon my part to His Majesty . . . that I have taken upon myself the responsibility of summoning a Council for to-day in order to agree upon a form of prayer to be read in all the churches on Sunday next for His Majesty's speedy recovery.

The deep anxiety of all classes of His Majesty's subjects demands that this step should be taken.

I am sensible that His Majesty's pleasure should have been first taken, but the end of the week is close at hand. I think, therefore, that the urgency of the case will justify in His Majesty's estimation the responsibility which under the peculiar circumstances I have thought it right to take upon myself. . . .

I have received your letter, and have seen Sir Henry Halford, who gives precisely the same opinion.

I had heard that no inquiry had been made from a certain quarter which you mention. Had I not received this intelligence from those whom I could not doubt I should not have believed it.

I learn with equal satisfaction and admiration the firmness and resignation which His Majesty exhibits. . . .

Believe me, dear Sir Herbert,

Yours faithfully,

MELBOURNE.

LORD MELBOURNE to SIR H. TAYLOR.

South Street. June 20th, 1837.

Your preceding communications had left little doubt that the next must bring the intelligence which it did bring. But, notwithstanding this certainty, I could not be otherwise than much affected by the actual event. The death of the King.

I have seen the Queen ¹—nothing could be more composed, nothing more feeling and proper than her behaviour. She expressed the warmest affection for her uncle, and the deepest concern for his loss. She also expressed her intention of immediately writing to the Queen (Dowager), and for whom I understand that she feels a strong and most affectionate interest.

I beg that you will take a proper opportunity of conveying to Her Majesty the expression of my deep and sincere condolence.

Yours faithfully,

MELBOURNE.

¹ Lord Melbourne had that morning been down to Kensington Palace where the young Queen held her first Privy Council.

MR. JAMES HUDSON *to* LORD MELBOURNE.

Windsor Castle. June 20th, 1837.

MY LORD,

Sir Herbert Taylor, who is not yet dressed, and who has been sent for by the Queen Dowager, orders me to say that he thinks it his duty to acquaint your Lordship that he has sent back all the official boxes which arrived this morning, and that he is ready, upon your Lordship's order, to give up to you the official keys which he has held, and also those which were in the possession of His late Majesty, as soon as he shall have received them from the Queen in whose keeping they now are.

I have the honour, etc., etc.,

JAMES HUDSON.

LORD MELBOURNE *to* SIR H. TAYLOR.

Downing Street. June 22nd, 1837.

MY DEAR SIR HERBERT,

I have received both your letters. The question of Queen Charlotte's will shall be immediately considered.

The
Queen's
House-
hold.

We are all at sea about the Household of the Queen. Can you give us any information, or find any at the Castle upon the subject?

It is so long since there was a Queen Regnant—one hundred and twenty-three years—that it is very difficult to make out any traces of what was done then. Is the Queen to have any Lords-in-Waiting? They are not mentioned in the Household of Queen Anne in Chamberlayne's "State of England." I apprehend there were none. Must she have no ladies with courtesy rank, such as Earl's daughters, for her maids of honour? Is this rule imperative, or has it never been departed from? Any information or advice would be most acceptable.

Everything is of course referred to me, and these are matters of which I know little or nothing.

I hope you are all pretty well at Windsor after the afflicting scene which has been passed through. The hurry here has been, as you may suppose, very great.

The Queen conducts herself admirably.

Yours faithfully,

MELBOURNE.

LORD GREY *to* SIR H. TAYLOR.

Berkeley Square. June 22nd, 1837.

MY DEAR SIR HERBERT,

Knowing how much, and how distressingly you must have been occupied, and having constant accounts from other

quarters, I abstained from troubling you during the continuance of the King's illness.

But I cannot now deny myself the melancholy satisfaction of saying how deeply and sincerely I sympathize in the grief which you, with his family, and all who approached him, must have felt in the fatal termination of his disorder.

To me he was a most gracious and indulgent master; and I never can forget the kindness with which he always treated me down to the last communications I had with him just before the commencement of his illness.

To his country the loss, at this moment, is irreparable; and we can only hope that we shall, by the blessing of Providence, escape from the increased difficulties in which it has involved us.

I feel very deeply for the Queen (Dowager). It was my misfortune to incur her displeasure; but I never failed to do justice to all her excellent qualities, and to none more than to her attachment to the King by which she has been distinguished.

I conclude that you will not leave Windsor before you have discharged the last duties to the master whom you so faithfully and so honourably served. But when you come to town I hope I shall be allowed an opportunity of expressing to you in person how much I am,

Dear Sir Herbert,

Your faithful and affectionate servant,

GREY.

The Right Hon. William Adam (1751-1839), of Blair Adam, whose letter follows, had, in his time, been an eminent orator and Scotch Judge, as well as a prominent legal parliamentarian. He was the father of three distinguished sons, and the nephew of the famous classical architects and designers, Robert and James Adam, the two best known of the four "Adelphi."

LORD CHIEF COMMISSIONER ADAM to SIR H. TAYLOR.

34, Clarges Street. June 25th, 1837.

MY DEAR FRIEND,

This is the third time that I have had occasion to express my feelings to you in respect to the death of three Kings with whom you had had more intercourse, and been more intimately and confidentially trusted, than any other man in this realm; and I add, not only as my own conviction, but as that of the whole nation (and more particularly of those public Ministers of the Crown who have had such opportunities of contemplating your acts), that the uprightness and perfectness

of your conduct in the most delicate of all situations could not be excelled.

I naturally write to express to you what I have felt on the recent loss of William IV.

You know better than anybody how much I am bound to revere and love his memory, as you have been of late the person to communicate with me on matters still remaining over, which regarded himself.

I anxiously hope that in the commencement of the new reign the same services may be continued which unite in your person to long experience, industry, uprightness, and ability, and, above all, what I would term safety of character. These expressions I can assure you are sincere; they are not meant to flatter, but to console.

I know how much your time must be occupied, but I am sure you will take a few minutes to let me hear from you.

. . . With much affection,

Yours,

W. ADAM.

SIR JAMES KEMPT¹ to SIR H. TAYLOR.

South Street. June 27th, 1837.

. . . It is a melancholy satisfaction to all those who knew and could appreciate the kindness of heart, and the very many sterling qualities possessed by William IV. that justice has been done to his character by all parties in Parliament; and his reign, though a short one, will form an important epoch in the history of this country.

Fortunate would it have been if God had spared His Majesty's life a few years longer, for a young, inexperienced Queen scarcely out of her teens is little able to drive a State Coach in these eventful times.

My great dread is that the profession to which we belong will suffer. For I well know the itching desire which some leading members of the present Government have, to carry schemes into effect which I am satisfied will be destructive of its honour and interests; and a female reign will afford them a pretext and an opportunity for effecting changes in the Government and the administration of the Army which they never could have accomplished so long as William IV. lived.

I am thinking of going abroad for a few months if I can meet with an agreeable travelling companion—perhaps to pass the winter at Rome and Naples. I have heard you say that, when "out of harness," you would take a ramble on the

¹ Until 1830 Governor-General of Canada.

Continent with your family. Perhaps we may go in the same direction.

I am, thank God, my own master, and mean to remain so. My best regards to Lady Taylor and the young lady.

Ever most truly yours,
JAMES KEMPT.

SIR BENJAMIN STEPHENSON *to* SIR H. TAYLOR.

Office of Woods. June 29th, 1837.

It is now ascertained there will be no private secretary appointed to the young Queen. The different Ministers take their papers for Her Majesty's signature, and whatever officially written communications may be necessary will be done by them or their private secretaries.

This arrangement may do for some time, but must end in there being some confidential person placed about Her Majesty, and particularly when she leaves London. But it is said that upon such occasions one of the Under Secretaries will always be in personal attendance.¹

Watson "kissed hands" yesterday for his Mastership of the Household. The Lord Steward, the Lord Chamberlain, and the Master of the Horse are to remain. The latter is to have the management of the Stud Establishment; which will, I fear, remove Wemys. The other departments of the Household, with some few alterations, remain, I think, nearly as under the good old King.

Every exertion is being used to get the new palace² in readiness for the Queen, who is anxious to remove there as soon as possible.

I cannot help feeling greatly annoyed at the Queen not having sent for you when she visited the Castle. This was not behaving gratefully—but you have a mind upon which such inattentions can make but a slight impression.

Never, my dear Taylor, did a man execute such great duties with such general approbation from all classes of people as yourself. You retire from office with their kindest and sincerest wishes for your welfare and happiness.

Believe me,
Ever yours,
B. STEPHENSON.

¹ At the commencement of the Queen's reign, Lord Melbourne himself acted as her secretary for all official business.

² Buckingham Palace, which had been built in the reign of George IV. Queen Victoria was, however, the first sovereign to live there; William IV. never having taken a fancy to its interior arrangements.

LORD HILL to SIR H. TAYLOR.

Horse Guards. June 28th, 1837.

I have received the Queen's command to signify to you Her Majesty's pleasure that you should hold the appointment of First and Principal Aide-de-Camp to Her Majesty. Her Majesty has been pleased to observe that you filled that situation during the reign of His late lamented Majesty, and to express her desire that you should continue in it.

I trust it will be agreeable to you to retain an appointment which cannot be so worthily filled by any other officer.

Believe me, my dear Taylor,

Yours very faithfully,

HILL.

An Address of Condolence to the Queen Dowager.

LORD HOLLAND to SIR H. TAYLOR.

June 29th, 1837.

I have been on the point of writing to you every day from an anxiety to hear an authentic account of Queen Adelaide and the family, in their now melancholy residence in the Castle; and yet more to inquire how your own health and spirits have borne the multiplicity of painful businesses which you must have had to transmit during these ten days. I was deterred, however, from a fear of molesting you when that which is indispensable must be so distressing and uncomfortable.

But I have now an official question to ask—and therefore get over my scruples.

The Corporation of Nottingham have sent me an address of condolence to present to the Queen Dowager, and if my health permitted I should have had a melancholy pleasure in going down to Windsor and presenting it in person. As, however, I am not in a condition to move, and the Corporation will be anxious that no time should be lost, I will thank you to tell me through whom, or how it is most regular and respectful to transmit the address to Her Majesty.

With respect to the small residue of the rents and profits of the Duchy of Lancaster¹ in the Receiver's hands at the time of His late Majesty's death, the Attorney of the Duchy, Mr. Russell, has given me a most satisfactory opinion, and I shall take an early (though for obvious reasons not the very first) opportunity of submitting for Her Majesty's signature a

¹ Lord Holland was Chancellor of the Duchy both in the Grey and Melbourne administrations.

warrant for the payment of the sum of £3000 (I am sorry it is so small a one) to His late Majesty's executors.

I have not yet had the honour of seeing her, but I am to hobble or be carried up the stairs of Kensington Palace tomorrow afternoon.

Lady Holland joins me in hoping that there may be at least one little *agrément* in your painful release from such constant attendance, that we may have the advantage of seeing you occasionally, of which your assiduous occupation almost deprived us.

Believe me, dear Sir Herbert,
Ever truly your obliged and grateful humble servant,
VASSALL HOLLAND.

LORD PALMERSTON to SIR H. TAYLOR.

Stanhope Street. June 30th, 1837.

MY DEAR TAYLOR,

. . . With respect to Hudson,¹ I can only say that James Hudson. your wishes in any matter in which I may have means of complying with them, will always be to me imperative; I have much personal regard and esteem for Hudson, and the circumstances connected with the situation he has held give him very strong claims.

I shall therefore feel great pleasure in appointing him to the first Secretaryship of Legation which may become vacant; and as it will of course be necessary to establish a mission at Hanover,² I shall have an early opportunity of doing what you wish.

Yours sincerely,
PALMERSTON.

SIR H. TAYLOR to LORD PALMERSTON.

Windsor Castle. July 1st, 1837.

MY DEAR LORD,

I cannot delay one moment in assuring you how extremely grateful I feel for the prompt and friendly manner in which you have met my application in favour of Hudson.

You have indeed conferred the greatest obligation upon me, as I should have felt very uncomfortable in leaving England without having secured something for my excellent young friend. I need hardly say that he is highly flattered and grateful for the kind terms in which you name him, and that

¹ Taylor's secretary.

² This was now necessary as, on the accession of Queen Victoria, the Kingdom of Hanover became separated from the throne of England.

he will be prepared to obey any orders he may receive at the shortest notice.

I consider it, however, my duty to mention to you that I have for some years past been very much in the black books of the King of Hanover,¹ and that Hudson has been included in the proscription, and has come in for his share of the scowl. I do not imagine that this will injure either of us in your opinion, but it is right to name it to you, although Hudson would not suggest it as an objection.

It has occurred to me, and I take the liberty of mentioning it for your consideration, that as Sir Alexander Malet² and Disbrowe have not gone on very smoothly together, Malet might not dislike the transfer to Hanover, thus opening the Hague for Hudson, who has the further advantage of having become a great favourite with the Prince of Orange and his two sons while they were here.

Believe me to be, etc., etc.,

H. TAYLOR.

Now that the close of his official work was at hand, the future of young James Hudson became a matter of deep concern to Sir Herbert. Hudson had for some time been assisting him as an Under Secretary, and the attachment thus formed had ripened into a very warm friendship. Lord Palmerston's letter, therefore, was very welcome. Hudson, however, was not at this period sent to the Hague, but to Washington. He was transferred to the Hague in 1843.

SIR H. TAYLOR *to* MR. DAVID URQUHART.³

St. Katharine's. August 7th, 1837.

MY DEAR URQUHART,

I found your letter of the 5th here on my return from dining out, and I do not delay repeating to you what I have before said and written, that I must decline entering into or offering an opinion upon the question at issue between yourself and Lord Ponsonby,⁴ or upon the nature of your communications to Lord Palmerston with reference to it.

You must consult your own feelings as to the propriety of bringing forward to public notice documents of a confidential character, and which were addressed to you as a confidential

¹ The Duke of Cumberland became King of Hanover on the death of William IV.

² Secretary of Legation at the Hague.

³ Urquhart—lately Secretary of the Embassy at Constantinople—had been recalled. See account of his career, pp. 295-296.

⁴ British Ambassador at Constantinople.

servant of the Government, whether they relate to the portfolio or to any other matter in which you may have been employed.

Believe me to be, etc., etc.,

H. TAYLOR.

P.S.—I return the copy of your letter to Lord Palmerston.

THE DAWN OF THE VICTORIAN ERA.

THE DUCHESS OF GLOUCESTER¹ to SIR H. TAYLOR.

Gloucester House. July 1st, 1837.

MY DEAREST TAYLOR,

I have this day been walking in your most delightful garden,² and Sophy went with me; and I cannot tell you how we enjoyed it, and how sweet and how lovely it looked.

I required air so much that it quite refreshed me; for saving the day we went to Stow, I have never been out of the house since the day that we had our sad loss.

Augusta left me this day to my great regret, but she wanted to pass a few days at St. James's before she leaves town. I flatter myself she has derived comfort under my roof, and I am sure I had much pleasure in having her with me.

I cannot tell you how pleased I am about Sir Henry Wheatley's appointment. It preserves for the young Queen an honest and honourable servant, and by far the best appointment I have heard of yet.

I am happy that dear Queen Adelaide's health keeps tolerable, but tremble for her after she gets to Bushy when all is over.

I should think George may arrive to-night or to-morrow. I had a most feeling and amiable letter from Adolphus³ after he heard of the poor King's death, and expressing himself just as I felt sure he would do as to his gratitude for all the King's kindness to him respecting George.

He laments he could not come to pay his last respects to attend the funeral, but he could not leave Hanover until he had seen the King of Hanover; and it was necessary for him to wind up the business there as soon as possible.

Augusta Cambridge tells me they are leaving Hanover immediately for Rumpenheim; and after their visit there, come on to England.

¹ Fourth daughter of George III.

² At St. Katharine's in the Regent's Park.

³ The Duke of Cambridge, who was at the moment giving up his position as Governor-General in Hanover.

I sent her letter to the Queen, and I wish she may show it you, as it does her head and heart great credit. . . .

Love to Charlotte.

Yours,

MARY.

G. P. R. JAMES¹ to SIR H. TAYLOR.

Hampton Court. July 15th, 1837.

MY DEAR SIR,

I trust that your painful labours consequent upon the late event are now so far concluded that this letter will not be an inexcusable intrusion upon your time, and that you will permit me to tell you how sincerely I have felt all that you must have had to undergo during the last month.

Your strong attachment to our late lamented Sovereign must of course have rendered the event which has lately taken place most painful to you, however much you might be prepared by circumstances for his loss, and however you might pant for that freedom from labours equally harassing and important which could never be obtained during his life. I feel confident, however, that while time will of course mitigate your regret for the death of your friend and Sovereign, every hour will but add to your enjoyment of days now at your own disposal.

Yours, my dear Sir, is one of those minds to which leisure, the curse of the depraved and the inactive, is indeed a blessing.

I know no state which may be more happy than that of the man who, like you, has won the jewel experience in Courts, camps, and the world, without losing one fresh feeling of the heart, one particle of his taste for the fine, the simple, and the beautiful, one noble or dignified quality of the mind; and who is suddenly freed from shackles which his own good feeling prevented him from casting off, and is left at liberty to seek and enjoy to the full those pleasures which never pale.

In our occasional walks together through those scenes which your taste so much aided to embellish, I saw and marked those capabilities of enjoyment which are so generally denied to the denizens of the great world; and I said to myself even then that the time would come when those capabilities would fully recompense you at an after period for so much denying yourself their exercise at the moment. I trust—I feel sure—that it will be so; and though I too, sincerely and deeply regret the death of a monarch who showed me much undeserved kindness, yet under his loss it is a pleasure to me to be able to express the feelings I experience towards yourself without the possibility of being misunderstood in anything.

I trust too that another advantage may accrue to compensate

¹ The well-known author of various novels.

me for the death of the good King ; and that without trespassing upon time which must be still very valuable, I may obtain an opportunity of enjoying your society more frequently.

We are still at Hampton Court, and shall remain here for about another week ; after which we go to a very pretty place we have taken near Petersfield called "Fair Oak Lodge." It belongs to Sir Charles Paget, and I have hired it for the time of his absence, hoping that it may agree with Mrs. James, whose health, I grieve to say, is very delicate.

I shall there have quiet, beautiful scenery and good fishing and shooting ; and I wish that accident or my persuasions could bring you down to give me a few days of your society, which I should always enjoy.

Before I go I shall endeavour to find you or Lady Taylor at the Regent's Park, to which house I address this letter, not knowing exactly where you are. Let me beg you to offer her my best wishes, as well as to your young lady, and

Believe me, my dear Sir,

Yours most faithfully,

G. P. R. JAMES.

Prince George of Cambridge.

THE DUKE OF CAMBRIDGE to SIR H. TAYLOR.

Wiesbaden. August 5th, 1837.

MY DEAR TAYLOR,

. . . Believe me that I am fully sensible of your attention and of the interest you take in dear George,¹ and very much obliged, therefore, for the suggestions concerning his travelling.

In many respects I agree with you, and indeed I have more than once talked with the Duchess of the propriety of his making a tour through different parts of Europe. Unfortunately, however, he is not yet sufficiently prepared for such a journey, which I fear he would now make without deriving much benefit from it.

The change in my situation which has obliged me to leave Hanover has put an end to George's studies there. But it is my intention as soon as we get to England that he should begin them again, and I trust that in one year's time he will be able to travel with some advantage.

Cornwall is undoubtedly a very fit man to accompany him, having himself been a good deal on the Continent.

By a letter I received lately from the Duchess of Gloucester

¹ Succeeded his father as Duke of Cambridge in 1850. Afterwards Commander-in-Chief of the Army.

I find that it is your intention to leave England by the end of the month. This is about the time that I meant to go there; and as I should be miserable not to see you either there or at the Hague, I wish you would let me know what your plans are, and which road you take, and especially the day you have fixed for your departure, in order that I can make my arrangements to accomplish this object.

. . . I conclude with the assurance of my ever remaining,
 My dear Taylor,
 Yours most faithfully,
 ADOLPHUS.

THE DUKE OF CAMBRIDGE *to* SIR H. TAYLOR.

Rumpenheim. August 21st, 1837.

MY DEAR TAYLOR,

Many thanks for your kind letter of the 7th, by which I am very sorry to find that you will now give up your plan of going to the Hague, where I had hoped to have the pleasure of meeting you at the end of this or the beginning of next month.

Most sincerely do I wish that on your return to old England I may find you both in perfect health.

I am delighted at the account you give of Queen Adelaide. . . . I shall leave this about the 1st or 2nd of September, and proceed by steamboat down the Rhine from Mayence to Rotterdam, where I shall embark for England without delay, if the King of Holland is not at the Hague.

I mean to spend a week or ten days in London, and then go to Dover (if I can get a house there) to take some sea-bathing, and to await the Duchess, who will embark at Calais in the first days of October, about which time I trust that all my things will be safely landed in England, and many preparatory arrangements concerning my household settled.

. . . With respect to the renewal of my patent as Ranger of Richmond Park, I will speak to Stephenson as soon as I arrive, and I shall certainly act upon his advice.

. . . That you would do everything that was honourable in whatever situation you might be placed I was fully persuaded, and, therefore, not at all surprised at the answer you gave Lord Melbourne to his question concerning your wishes.

The accounts of the elections in England and Wales are undoubtedly very favourable to the Conservatives; and I believe much more so than they expected.

I have no doubt that a union of the moderates on both sides is the only means to bring things to rights again.

Now, my dear Taylor, God bless you, and believe me,
 Yours ever most sincerely,

ADOLPHUS.

LADY DENBIGH to SIR H. TAYLOR.

Upper Lodge, Bushy Park. August 20th, 1837.

MY DEAR SIR HERBERT,

I never wrote to thank you for sending me the account about Lord Munster which I should have done, had I not hoped to do so in person; but the time of your going is now, I fear, so near that any chance of seeing you will be very uncertain.

My only reason for wishing to have an account was for the purpose of vindicating the character of our late King in my own family should I hear it again said that he had done nothing for Lord M. This, I believe, you give me liberty to do; but you may depend upon my having little inclination to fish in such troubled waters.

I still shall hope to see you some day if I can get to town before you go. But if not, *don't forget us*, and believe that we do really know how to appreciate the value of yours and Lady Taylor's friendship; and do not let Chaddy quite forget me; and give my love to her and her mother.

The poor Queen felt much more at parting from you both than you have any idea of. It seemed to unhinge her more than anything I have observed. She seemed so low. Queen
Adelaide.

Princess Augusta spends the day with her to be out of the way of the Windsor festivities on Tuesday.

The Queen was observing last night how strange it was that the young Queen should take possession of the Castle the very day after the anniversary of *that* speech¹ of the poor King in St. George's Hall.

. . . What a trying day to-morrow will be for the Queen!

Believe me, my dear Sir Herbert,

Very faithfully and sincerely yours,

M. E. DENBIGH.

¹ This was the speech made in the presence of Princess Victoria at the State Banquet in honour of the King's birthday on August 21st, which has already been referred to.

CHAPTER XXVI

1837

A TREK IN SOUTH AFRICA

Letter from Captain J. Edward Alexander.

ALTHOUGH the following letter could not have been received until many weeks later—probably at Cannes—it can be well inserted here and treated as an interlude. It comes as a breath of fresh air from the wilds of South Africa, and, by its complete change of subject, conveniently separates the close of Sir Herbert's official life from his travels in France and in Italy, where he was so soon fated to end his days.

CAPTAIN J. EDWARD ALEXANDER *to* SIR H. TAYLOR.

The Cedar Mountains, Cape Colony.
September 8th, 1837.

DEAR SIR,

It is now a long time since I had the honour of addressing you, for I have been a wanderer in desert places for nearly a year. I rejoice, however, that I am again within the bounds of civilization, and that I have an opportunity of writing you.

I earnestly trust that these lines will find you in the enjoyment of health and happiness.

I am now on my way to Cape Town as fast as worn-out cattle will allow, after having performed a very trying journey through the countries of the Great Namaquas, Boschmans, and Hill Damaras; and as I find an order from the Horse Guards for my presence with my regiment (the 42nd R.H.) on the 31st December (or, if I fail in being then in England, removal to half-pay of Captain awaits me), I must leave the Cape immediately (probably by the flagship "Thalia"), give up my A.D.C. and private secretaryship for which I always very heartily thank you, and leave my estimable chief, Sir Benjamin D'Urban.

Perhaps I may have the honour of a personal interview with you about the beginning of next year.

I now proceed to give you a short outline of my expeditionary discovery, reserving the details for a future occasion. 1837.

On the 18th January of this year I left the Warm Bath, Orange River, with a light waggon, some pack oxen, seven servants, and a small Namaqua escort. For three days I travelled north; and then leaving the waggon with half my party I went with the other half among the wild recesses of the Caras Mountains to endeavour to recover for my guide some cattle from a robber chief. I failed at the time in recovering the cattle, though afterwards the robber was compelled to surrender them. He then threatened to attack the waggon. We prepared for him by surrounding ourselves with an abattis, when his courage failed him, and there was no fight. Warm Bath.

Finding my escort great cowards—they made lions of mice, and Bushmen of baboons—I dismissed them, crossed the Lion and Fish rivers, and arrived at the deserted station of Bethany. (There is now only one Mission Station north of the Orange River, West Coast, and that is at the Warm Bath.)

A Namaqua chief and three head men now offered to accompany me to the North, and I availed myself of their offer, though their followers were stronger in numbers and appetite than I wished.

At one time my party consisted of fifty; and in one week we (they) ate one rhinoceros (equal to five or six bullocks), three zebras, and half a dozen buck and other small deer.

Esquimaux-like, my coloured attendants always ate up to the throat, and (when they could get it) each finished 10 lbs. of solid flesh per day. The stamping of marrow bones at night made our sleeping-places resemble a shoemaker's shop.

I now travelled towards the tropic, crossed the great plain of "Kei" Kaap, saw many new mountains and rivers, and arrived at a poort or pass in a range called "The Bull's Mouth."

Here rhinoceroses were running about like a herd of cattle—twelve were seen in one day. There was also abundance of lions, zebras, camel-leopards, and other large game. I was charged by two large rhinoceroses, which came on ploughing up the ground with their awful horns. I doubled them, and got a shot at the last as it passed me.

We next cleared a road through the pass, and dragged through the waggon with difficulty—found ourselves in a region of fig trees, and then in the dreary Desert of Tans, where we nearly all perished from thirst.

For two days the people had no water (thermometer in April 100°), and for three days the oxen had not a drop to drink. I lost my horses, some oxen, sheep and dogs. Twelve people lay down in the sand and desired to be buried.

At last with tottering steps we reached the bed of the

1837. Koorsip River, beyond the tropic, and were thus mercifully preserved.

Seven impassable sandhills now "brought up" the waggon, which I accordingly sent back towards the Orange River with one of my head people, ten men and twenty-five oxen; and went on myself with pack oxen. Since then I have walked on foot night and morning, and ridden an ox in the heat of the day.

Walfisch
Bay.

We again suffered much from thirst, but at last reached the sea at Walfisch Bay¹—the first who had done so from the Cape.

Our provisions were now all exhausted—the people ate up the shoe leather, and we searched the strand for dead fish, found some cabaljas, and dug with our hands in the sand for clams.

We looked in vain for the promised man-of-war to help us. (Two months after this I heard she had been seen on the coast.) However, two American whalers came into the bay, and I exchanged with them some rope, knives, zebra heads, etc., for a little biscuit. We also *hunted* and caught the Red men of the bay, and put pipes in their mouths to give them confidence, when they brought us out a few lean goats.

One of the American captains offered me a passage to St. Helena with my seven men—a week's sail—for the price of a whale, or 1000 Rix dollars (at 1s. 6d.); but I was not frightened yet—wished to see more of the interior, and not being able to go further north than 22° (for want of guides to show us the waters), I left the bay on the 3rd of May, and travelled east towards the Negro stations.

On this last course I accomplished three hundred miles, and arrived at the verge of another desert, quite impassable. Previous to this I found the Damara country very beautiful—fine ranges of mountains, grassy plains abounding in game, hot and cold springs, forests, copper mines, etc.; our wants were also for a time supplied by the chief Aaramah, living at the Mat-house town of Eineis, containing about twelve hundred souls.

Having gone as far north and east as I possibly could, I turned south, suffered severely from cold for two months, saw plenty of ice on the tableland of the Unuma or Bulb mountains, and often rose in the morning from our sandy or rocky bed covered with hoar frost. Eleven hundred miles south-west brought me again within the Colony,² with spoils in the shape of rhinoceros, lion, zebra, gemsbok, and other large skins,

¹ Walfisch Bay is still British territory, but most of the country traversed by Capt. Alexander was annexed by Germany in 1883 and is now known as *German South-West Africa*.

² The route describes, as it were, the figure 8 between the Somerset and Orange rivers.—J. E. A.

drawings and plants, and three hundred bird skins, many of 1837. which are new and curious.

On this journey, though we suffered the extremes of hunger and thirst—heat and cold—ate everything from a lion to a locust, the rank flesh of the rhinoceros and zebra—drank water black, green, or impure with wild beasts; though I had not slept out of my clothes or shoes or off the dust for months, and had undergone fatigues incessant, yet, thank Heaven, I have not had a moment's illness.

My simple receipt for health is "no wine, no fat, and plenty of exercise." My people were often seriously ill, principally from eating fat. Grease is the Devil!

Among our various encounters with wild beasts was one with a large male lion, which, after killing one of my oxen, gave us a chase after him on foot at the top of our speed for eight miles—then turned and hunted us. He fell within four yards of the muzzles of the guns.

I worked as hard as I could for the Royal Medal for travellers, and a step of rank, though I am sorry to see that the Horse Guards have extended my leave of absence to 1st January next, *very* reluctantly, forgetting, I think, that I was invited to undertake our expedition in South Africa by the Colonial Office and Royal Geographical Society, and that during the greater part of the Caffer War and for about a year and a half the Governor here had no other A.D.C. than myself.

Captain Beresford A.D.C. has not been with Sir Benjamin since June, '35.

I hope this expedition will not prove a barren one, but will considerably extend our knowledge of this mysterious Continent, extend commerce, civilization, and our holy religion. It will then repay me for the sacrifice of a year spent companionless, and living as a Bushman in the wilderness. I have spent, of my own, £300, besides the Government allowance of £300. The sale of the waggon and cattle may reduce my expenditure to £200. I believe no other extensive expedition ever cost less than £2000.

When Cape Town is reached, 4000 miles will have been accomplished in a year. This is trifling compared with some other expeditions I have made in the same period—but these were not in Africa.

I now observe with great sorrow that our Royal Master has been gathered to his fathers. This great loss I deeply deplore.

With regard to Cape news I am sorry to say that the circumstances of the Colony are at present not at all flourishing. Sir Benjamin's just frontier policy having been completely upset by the new Lieut.-Governor (Stockenstrom, ^{Cape} Colony, whose mother was a Hottentot) who has actually rewarded

1837.

the aborigines, the Caffers, for their murderous and unprovoked attack on the Colony—given them land they did not even occupy before the war, and admitted them to the dangerous Fish River Bush.

The consequence of this has been that 10,000 Dutch and some English have left the Colony for the interior, selling their valuable farms for a few hundred dollars, and carrying with them their flocks and herds. Corn has risen to about three times the price it was last year at Grahamstown. Slaughter cattle are now 100 dollars, last year they were 40 dollars each. So much for pseudo-philanthropy.

Many more farmers are moving, I hear—so that soon His Honour will have few white men to rule over in the Eastern Province.

His friends the Caffers plunder the few farmers still left, of forty head of cattle and horse a week! They have also lately broken his treaty with them—attacked our Fingo allies between the Fish and Keiskamma rivers—killed many of them—plundered them of 1000 head of cattle, and driven these poor people (17,000 of them here saved from slavery by Sir Benjamin) into the Colony. It is anticipated that the next move of the Caffers will be against our Caffer allies in the war, the tribe of Congo; and that then the Hottentot Settlement on the Kat River (where according to that arch hypocrite Dr. Philip the boys learn Greek) will be attacked.

I hope my publisher sent you, as he was directed, a copy of a certain "Voyage and Campaign." When I sent home that MS. the prospects of this Colony were very bright. Alas! alas! Fifty years would not restore it to its late palmy state.

. . . The Caffers well know our weakness. Heaven help this valuable but most unfortunate Colony!

The African squadron has been very successful during the last three years under Sir Patrick Campbell; 16,000 slaves have been already captured, and it is anticipated that nearly 20,000 will be saved from bondage by the end of this year.

Excuse the rambling way in which this letter is written. I am rather discomposed with the threats of Sir John Macdonald.¹ He says my "long leave is unjust to the regiment." It is at home, and there is no other officer employed away from it. Few, I think, would have liked to have exchanged situations with me during this last year. Yet I must submit without repining. . . . I hope that next year I shall find other employment than "opening ranks" and "inspecting kits."

Believe me, always with high regard,

Your faithful and very grateful servant,

JAS. EDW. ALEXANDER.

¹ Adjutant-General.

CHAPTER XXVII

1837

Preparations for leaving England—Letter from Lord Stanley—Notes on a Journey through parts of France.

DURING the reign of William IV. the incessant work and the many delicate duties which Sir Herbert Taylor had to negotiate became arduous to a degree. The strain was beginning to tell.

After the first two years he seldom joined the Royal dinner or evening party, but usually dined at 2 o'clock with his little girl, and took a short ride or walk with her when able to get out at all.

He was very sparing in his diet, eating meat once a day, and that in moderation, seldom drinking more than two glasses of wine. He used to say that if he had done otherwise he could not have worked as he did. Indeed he did not often get through even these slight and hurried meals without interruption. Almost always he continued writing until 1 or 2 o'clock in the morning, often to a much later hour.

During the last two years it was evident to those constantly with him that his naturally strong constitution was giving way, and he was often urged to take more rest. But he always said: "No, I have undertaken the duty and I will fulfil it, though I am aware that I am wearing myself out."

After the King's death several weeks were employed in arranging all the official letters, papers, etc. Here ended his official life, and he determined to carry out what had been a cherished desire for some time past—namely, to go abroad for two or three years in order to shake off the ties and habits of business, and thereby to strengthen his own health, and benefit that of Lady Taylor, to whom a change of climate had long been recommended.

Queen Victoria had renewed to him the appointment of First and Principal A.D.C. He therefore applied to Her Majesty for leave of absence, which was granted. Preparations for departure were speedily made, and "on the 28th of August, 1837, he and his family left St. Katharine's, accompanied with the affectionate wishes of numberless friends and relations and

old servants, many of whom may have felt that they possibly might not live to see him again, but no one seemed to think that *he* might not live to return to England!"¹ It was rather the condition of Lady Taylor's health that raised some degree of anxiety. But both he and she looked forward to settling down at St. Katharine's so soon as they had derived sufficient benefit from a tour on the Continent.

The following letter reached Sir Herbert just as he and his party were about to cross the Channel.

LORD STANLEY² to SIR H. TAYLOR.

Dunrobin Castle. August 24th, 1837.

MY DEAR SIR HERBERT,

I am very sorry to find that you are going abroad so soon that I shall not have an opportunity of shaking you by the hand before you go; and, indeed, that it is almost doubtful whether our good wishes sent from this Ultima Thule will catch you still in town.

I will, however, take the chance for the purpose of assuring you that in the event of any attack being made on your pension in the House, you may rely on my saying a good word for you, should it seem to be the least necessary or desirable. But I should think it very little likely that anything of the sort should take place.

Your claims are too generally understood and acknowledged on all hands; and badly as I think of politicians in general I do not think you will lack defenders. However, when I go to town the first thing I will do shall be to look out the memorandum which you gave me, and arm myself with facts in your behalf.

The
villainous
métier of
politics.

Meanwhile, I can quite believe that you will rejoice to get free from the trammels of politics. It is a villainous *métier* at the best of times, and I do not think it is likely to improve in these.

The opening of the session will be curious, and, on the whole, the elections are satisfactory—more so, I think, from their leaving the Government in the possession of a small majority, than if an equally small one the other way had enabled them to retire, and had compelled Peel again to attempt the Government.

How matters may be, and whether the pear may be ripe by the time you have fixed on for your return, I do not pretend to guess. Ireland seems doomed to be the stumbling-block of

¹ Lady Taylor's Journal.

² Lord Stanley had married Emma Bootle Wilbraham, Sir Herbert's niece. He was a distinguished scholar and orator. In after years (as Lord Derby) he, for many years, held the leadership of the Conservative Party.



*Lieut. General Sir Herbert Taylor, G.C.B., G.C.H.
(from an oil painting)*

every Administration, and I should think Melbourne feels it to be so of his.

We are staying here for a week, after which we propose to go southward by Gordon Castle, Chillingham, and Howick. I suppose the beginning of November will be the time of our summons to town, by which time you will be enjoying a warmer climate and a purer air than that of Parliament.

I sincerely trust that you will find Lady Taylor derive real benefit from it. Emma desires her love, and with our sincerest good wishes for you in every way, believe me,

Dear Sir Herbert,
Affectionately yours,
STANLEY.

The notes that follow are divided into twelve sections. They are in no way a diary, but represent, for the most part, the writer's reflections on what he saw and heard during his travels, and also during his stay at the almost unheard-of little village of Cannes.

Extracts from NOTES BY SIR H. TAYLOR ON HIS JOURNEY
THROUGH PARTS OF FRANCE AND ITALY IN 1837-1838.

I.

En route to Paris from Dover—Normandy—Paris—St. Cloud—A Conversation with Louis Philippe—The Archbishop of Paris—Popular Feeling regarding Louis Philippe—Princess Lieven—Count Pozzo di Borgo.

Our party consisted of Lady Taylor, her sister, our daughter, two maids and a courier; the latter, an Englishman, Charles Ford, who had travelled through France and other countries, is very active and intelligent, and master of the language. In the latter point Lady Taylor, Miss Disbrowe and I had the same advantage; and with convenience of carriages, and a general inclination to be satisfied with what we found, we travelled without difficulty.

We crossed from Dover to Boulogne on the 1st September, and in spite of vexatious delay at the Custom House, where everything was ransacked, and nothing objectionable was found, we proceeded that evening to Montreuil—thence to Abbeville, Dieppe, Rouen, and Mantes to Paris. On the way to Dieppe we visited the Château d'Eu, a favourite residence of Louis Philippe, and deservedly so from its agreeable site and the surrounding scenery. Château
d'Eu.

We were not much pleased with Dieppe nor tempted to prolong our stay there beyond one night, being miserably lodged at Clarke's Hotel, which though professedly English, was as dirty and as uncomfortable as any we afterwards met with, and not the less extravagant in its charges. It must, however, be observed that the best apartments were occupied by Lord and Lady Granville. His Lordship was suffering from gout, and as we left Dieppe early on the following morning, I did not see him, nor, indeed, afterwards in Paris, to which he did not return before I left it.

There is much to praise in the general appearance of Normandy, and of its population; and the general face of the country between Dieppe and Rouen presents the appearance of great industry and prosperity, also of contentment and orderly habits. The labouring classes are a fine, hardy race, cheerful and civil, the women good-looking, and their costume *singular*.

The houses and cottages are roomy and substantially built, but air and light are generally excluded. The accumulation of dirt in and out of doors is disgusting, the confused assemblage of animals and materials equally so. There is a total absence of neatness and comfort, and of attention to the appearance of the children, and they often constitute in the streets and on the roads a small crowd of importunate beggars.

The dress of the postillions has been often described, and it appears to have undergone little more change than the *diligences*, which maintain their heavy and clumsy appearance, and offer a strange contrast to the better description of our coaches. The innocuous "jack boot" is still the order of the day, but there are frequent exceptions to uniformity, where the driver has no boots of any description and is almost or quite barefooted.

The tackle continues such as it has been described for years past, as does the cracking and flourishing of the whip, but the postillions are, in general, good and careful drivers, and manage four-in-hand with great dexterity, especially in the windings of narrow streets, and they are almost invariably civil and good-tempered fellows, although the time lost in changing, harnessing, repair of harness, etc., are trials of the traveller's patience. The rate at which they drive is very uncertain, and defies all calculation of time and distance, nor is it regulated by the description of road or the length of the stage.

The breed of horses for common use is very indifferent, being coarse, heavy-shouldered and ill-ribbed up, and by no means clean-legged. Their height seldom exceeds fifteen hands, but they must be hardy considering the use which is made of them and the little care that they receive.

The carriages and equipages of gentlemen are very scarce in France, even in such towns as Rouen, Tours, or Bordeaux; and there are hardly any equestrian gentlemen or ladies—the contrast in this respect with England being very remarkable. Even in Paris the number of either bears no proportion to those which crowd London and its environs at similar periods of the year. Again, on the Seine, the Loire, the Garonne, etc., I did not observe one pleasure boat, and very few employed otherwise than in the conveyance of goods of various description. There was no appearance of *seigneurie*, or of luxury. Villas and chateaux were shown to us, but the approaches did not betray the existence of residents of a superior class, nor did the neighbouring villages and cottages denote the fostering care of superior proprietors.

Beggars abound in every town and village on the road, and, in a country affording produce of every description in abundance, and ample means of labour, the appearance of that comfort and domestic enjoyment which the residence of the shopkeeper and of the cottager offers in England is sought for in vain. Yet people seem gay and happy—their mirth is indeed noisy, but it is free from broil, and in districts abounding with wine and other strong spirituous beverages a drunken individual is rarely seen.

Disputes often run high, and the coarsest abuse is uttered on these occasions, the action is very vehement, but I never saw a blow struck by man or woman. Animals are not so carefully tended as in England, but they are treated with greater gentleness and humanity.

The approach to Paris from St. Germain is very striking, ^{Paris.} but the general appearance and character of this "*Capital of the civilized world*" disappointed me. The Tuileries and Louvres and the adjoining gardens, the Rue Richelieu, and some of the other public buildings and quarters are indeed fine, vast, and magnificent; the Boulevards offer a very gay and amusing walk, especially on Sundays, but the contrast with the other parts is the more striking, and the dirt in the streets and avenues, with the habits of the population, are revolting.

Vanity, the predominant characteristic of the French people, leads to outward show, but stops short of essentials. The same may be said of their boasted civility and courtesy. They are cap in hand to each other, full of ceremony. "Monsieur and Madame" is their term of address even amongst the lowest classes; they seldom meet or pass each other without exchanging civilities, but here the matter ends. You rarely observe one making way for the other in the street, although the unavoidable result to a well-dressed man or woman may be steps in the dirt.

They drive furiously against pedestrians in narrow streets

and crossings or wantonly splash them, and cry "*Gare*" when the mischief is done.

Their language in the hearing of women is studiously coarse and obscene, and their habits offensive to good breeding. All this passes as a matter of course, and escapes the attention or notice of all but strangers.

Civility is shown in proportion as it is paid for, or as payment may be expected, and imposition is the leading feature of the transactions of most tradesmen and workmen with strangers. With these they have two prices for every article, more especially with the English traveller; nor is the latter secured as the traveller is in England, where the character, ignorance and helplessness of a stranger establish a claim to general protection and where any attempt to impose upon him, when detected, excites indignation. These feelings have always been manifested in England, in spite of national prejudice; but I doubt much whether at the present period the prejudice which formerly prevailed there with regard to foreigners has not in a great degree subsided, while, on the other hand, the prejudice and the jealousy entertained by foreigners, and especially by Frenchmen with regard to our country, appear to have increased.

I speak of what appears to me to be the general feeling. There are, of course, many exceptions. Many who entertain liberal sentiments do justice to our institutions, our progress in arts and science, and express an anxious desire to fraternize in these respects, and generally to maintain a friendly connection and intercourse. I believe there are few among those who wish for the continuation of peace as promoting the pursuits of industry and commerce which prevail generally, who do not feel the value of the British connection as the best safeguard, however slow they may be to acknowledge this, and however unwilling to reciprocate.

St. Cloud. The Court was at St. Cloud when we arrived at Paris, and as I had the honour of being known to the King and Queen and Madame Adélaïde when they resided in England, and as I had a message to the Queen from our Queen Dowager, I called on my old friend the Vicomte de Chabot (who was many years in the British service, and still holds the rank of Major-General in it) to inquire when and how I might pay my respects to their Majesties. He had left Paris that very morning, and in answer to inquiries at the Tuileries I learnt that it was not usual *de s'inscrire* there or at St. Cloud.

I then applied to Mr. Aston, and, in consequence, received a note from the Vicomte de Chabot's son, an employé in the Foreign Office, acquainting me that their Majesties would receive me on the following evening at St. Cloud, that he would accompany me, and that frock was the dress.

I saw him afterwards, and he told me that there was little ceremony, and, indeed, that many of the Parisian Liberals had gone in boots, which, however, was very obnoxious to their Majesties. He added that the King did not approve of black neck-cloths being worn on these occasions. I went, of course, dressed as I should to my own Court, and we arrived at St. Cloud at the hour he named, half-past eight. We were ushered by a servant, without further introduction or presentation, into a small inner room where the Queen was seated with her family and a few ladies at work round a table. She received me very graciously, and Her Majesty and Madame Adélaïde conversed with me for some time, chiefly respecting the Queen Dowager, the Queen, and the Princesses, and the circumstances attending the late King's death. Other ladies came in, as did a few gentlemen who had been playing billiards in the adjoining room, but the ladies only were seated. Later on, the King, who had been engaged with business, joined the party, came up to me, and asked me a few general questions, after which the party broke up between 9 and 10, and I returned to Paris with my companion.

A few days afterwards I received a card of invitation from the *aide-de-camp de service* to dine at St. Cloud at 6 o'clock (in frock) on the 17th September. It was Sunday—there was a fair at St. Cloud, and nothing could exceed the gaiety of the scene along the road.

A dinner
at the
French
Court.

I found the Royal Family and guests assembled in the same room in which they had sat on the previous evening, and the guests were, besides myself, Count Pahlen, the Russian Ambassador, Count Molé, Minister of Foreign Affairs, Sir Robert Adair, and two other foreigners (Germans) whose names I did not learn.

The attendants were General de Ramigny, General Athalin, and other officers *de service*, and the ladies of the Queen and Princesses. Mademoiselle de Chabot, Maid of Honour to the Princesse Marie, came up to me to say that I was to hand Her Royal Highness to dinner, and pointed her out to me. Madame Adélaïde afterwards called me up and mentioned to me very feelingly my late brother the Captain in the Navy, with whom she was well acquainted, as he had received her and the Duchess Dowager of Orléans on board his ship the "Thames" frigate at Figueros, and conveyed them to Gibraltar. She spoke in the highest terms of his character, and said that his melancholy death in 1814 had greatly distressed her.

The dinner being announced, Count Pahlen handed in the Queen, the King gave his arm to Madame Adélaïde, and I followed with the Princesse Marie; after us Count Molé and the Princesse Clémentine.

The Queen sat between Count Pahlen and Count Molé;

the King opposite to her between Madame Adélaïde and the Princesse Marie. I was very agreeably placed between the latter and Mademoiselle de Chabot, both very pretty, and conversing sensibly and cheerfully. There was indeed not more ceremony than was proper and necessary on such an occasion, although the conversation was not general, but carried on between neighbours. The King now and then said a few words across the table or across his neighbours.

Both the Princesse Marie and the Princesse Clémentine struck me as pretty and pleasing, but the latter appeared more shy or reserved than her sister. The former told me that the residence of St. Cloud is a very agreeable one, and that besides the park to which the public are admitted, there is an inner park and an extensive garden.

The dinner lasted about an hour, and we returned to the same room in the same order. The dining-room is handsome, and the rooms in general are comfortable.

Conversa-
tion with
Louis
Philippe.

After dinner the King withdrew to a window, and called me up to him. He began at once to speak of the state of France and Europe in general, his own position and his anxious desire to maintain peace, which he hoped was the desire also of the other Powers, and towards which the connection with England had tended so materially.

I assured His Majesty that full justice was done to him by all unprejudiced people in England on this head, and that the wisdom of his conduct in a position of extreme difficulty was duly appreciated. I took occasion to mention to him that I had seen Lord St. Helens¹ a few days before I left England, and that he had charged me to lay him at His Majesty's feet, and to express to him the warm interest which he had not ceased to take in his welfare and success, and his hope that he would receive with satisfaction the assurance of a man now in his 88th year, who had been a close observer of events and who had the advantage of long experience; that he had watched with interest the measures pursued by His Majesty, and that they had his entire approbation.

The King seemed pleased—professed great regard for Lord St. Helens, and observed that there were few persons to whose opinion he attached greater value, and that he rejoiced that he did him justice—that his position had indeed been one of great difficulty and embarrassment, and that it had not ceased to be such—that he had not sought the station to which he had been called, and was perfectly satisfied with that which he had previously held, but that His late Majesty Charles X.

¹ Alleyne Fitzherbert, created Baron St. Helens, had been a very distinguished diplomatist in the reign of George III. He was now a very old man, and died in February, 1839.

had unfortunately mistaken his course, and had imagined that he could succeed in opposing checks to a stream which had become too powerful to be stemmed, and that he could by direct acts recover a power which the course of events, the spirit of the times, and long habit had rendered obsolete.

He had warned him, and had told him that, if he meant to preserve his crown, he must yield in some degree to public feeling and public opinion.

He lamented that he (Charles X.) had not attended to his advice, which was sincere, and ought not to have been received *with suspicion*; that when the crisis arrived he would gladly have escaped from the task imposed upon him.

If I understood him right, he said that La Fayette's views had been revolutionary, that his object was a Republic; that his (the King's) *paquets étaient faits*, and in twenty-four hours he would have been on the road to his Château d'Eu; that *au fait* "*La Charte c'est La République*"; that he was obliged to act with great caution, and that justice was not done to him.

He felt that there were those, in England chiefly, who did not fairly appreciate his conduct, especially as to the policy he had necessarily adopted, and the course he was pursuing with respect to Spain,¹ and that many even suspected him of harbouring views of ulterior conquest and aggrandisement, while he sought only to secure France against the effects of the flame which had been kindled, and which raged so furiously and destructively in that unhappy country. He was not ambitious of conquests or of extension of territory,² and he felt that France required repose; that the spirit of the times, and the continued violence of opposing parties striving for extremes, required the utmost attention and circumspection.

The experience of history had proved the folly and inutility of Conquests. What had been the results of the career pursued by Louis XIV., and more recently by Napoleon? Brilliant successes at the outset, exhaustion and reverses in the end, and effectual checks produced by the jealousy and the alarm of other Powers, and by their consequent combination against France.

Nor could he contemplate otherwise than with extreme dread the possibility of a war which—adverting to the spirit of the times—would indubitably become one of principle, of revolutionary propagandism, and lead to a general *bouleversement*. France would not suffer alone; the mischief would

¹ In regard to the Carlist War.

² I was much tempted to remark that I concluded the proceedings at Algiers and the adjoining territory could therefore not possibly meet with his approbation, but I thought it would be impertinent and ill-timed. Indeed, I had heard that His Majesty himself disliked the expedition, and that his consent had been a sacrifice to French vanity, although he might not be disposed to admit this.—H. T.

extend to every Continental Power, and those who wished to preserve order and to maintain things as they are, were equally interested in the continuance of peace. The cause was common to all; the object and the endeavour to maintain it ought to be common to all also. No Sovereign who should commit his country to war for objects of conquest might live to see the end of it, and the evil introduced might recoil with frightful effect on himself and his dominions. He hoped that this was generally felt, and that the Continental Powers were disposed to concur in the pacific system of France and of England.

Spain. But to return to Spain. He had reason to regret that his policy was not better understood by the English Government, and that injurious suspicion seemed to be entertained. No one could lament more than he did the deplorable state of Spain, and the effects of the sanguinary contest which desolated that country, but he had from the first doubted the utility or the policy of interference and intervention, and events had confirmed him in this opinion.

There had been no system, no principle or consistency in the measures and proceedings of the Christinas,¹ and it could not be denied that many of them were of a very revolutionary character. But the course pursued by Don Carlos was still more objectionable, less suited to the times and to the general spirit of the Spanish nature. Judging dispassionately and from a general review of circumstances, he was convinced that Don Carlos would not eventually succeed, notwithstanding the recent turn in his favour, and the blunders of his opponents. The rock on which he would split was the want of money and credit, and the impossibility of raising revenues otherwise than by plunder.

Upon the whole, therefore, His Majesty was satisfied that the wisest course was to let the Spaniards settle their own affairs, and to avoid, as far as possible, all communication and contact with them, while so engaged.

I replied to His Majesty that the remarks contained in our papers, and even the representations which might be addressed to his Government, did not offer a fair criterion to the sentiments and feelings of the English nation with respect to the policy His Majesty had adopted towards Spain; that I could assure him with confidence, that, in general, it was considered wise and judicious, and such as is best suited to his own position and interests, as well as to the character and the views of the contending parties, neither of which were considered to have established, by their proceedings, any claim to confidence or external support. Such, I could assure His Majesty, was the opinion of my late Royal Master, who always gave him credit for good sense and prudence in abstaining from *intervention* in the Spanish contest.

¹ The supporters of Queen Christina.

His Majesty said he had always surmised such to be the late King's view of the case, as it accorded with what he had conceived to be the general bias of his mind. He must indeed add to other reasons his disinclination to bring his troops into close contact with revolutionists, and the difficulty of obtaining supplies towards any augmentation or increased expenses of the Army. It appeared doubtful even, whether the necessary estimates would, when the chambers met, be voted for the present establishment.

The King concluded by saying he was glad to have had this opportunity of expressing his sentiments to an old acquaintance.

On the first evening His Majesty had conversed in English, which he speaks like an Englishman; upon this occasion he spoke in French, occasionally introducing English words and expressions, as conveying his meaning more forcibly.

When he returned to the circle the Queen asked him whether he would not show us, Messieurs, the gallery, to which request he readily assented. It had been lighted up as well as the chapel, and he took us through both, and to other parts of the palace. The gallery is very beautiful, and well decorated, and has a few good pictures. He afterwards retired with the Queen to a room adjoining that in which they usually sat, and they appeared to be engaged in reading letters. I conversed for a short time with some of the attendants, and left the palace between 8 and 9, observing that others had done so.

I have been more particular in detailing all this, as it is not likely that I shall again visit Paris, or have the opportunity of seeing Louis Philippe and his family; and His Majesty's conversation was very interesting.

I learnt shortly before I left Paris from a very respectable individual who is much in His Majesty's confidence though not in any official situation, that the state of religious affairs in France is the subject of great uneasiness to His Majesty, and that he is not without apprehension that the marriages of his children with Protestants may have a prejudicial effect, and increase the ill-will of the High Church Party and the violence of the Catholic Noblesse, which is fomented by the Archbishop of Paris, who is intolerant and unbending. The King had observed to my friend that these marriages of his children to Protestant Princes and Princesses had taken place *coup sur coup*; that he could not avoid it, as the endeavours to form Roman Catholic alliances had failed, but that he feared it would be used as a weapon against him. My friend told me that the King had endeavoured *de se rapprocher* to the Archbishop, but that the latter had been extremely repulsive, to the extent even of declining the offer of contribution under the head of

benefactions to the Church for charitable purposes, which, in fact, constituted the chief funds for his own support; that it must not be supposed, however, that this indisposition to meet the King's desire to contribute was disinterested, inasmuch as the Archbishop was amply indemnified by the Carlist coterie (the residents in the Faubourg St. Germain), who subscribed largely to his wants, and who readily encouraged all that would tend to the King's annoyance and embarrassment.

Indeed, His Majesty's task was not an easy one, between those who treated him as an Usurper, and the Ultra Liberal Party, which strove to obtain concessions tending to the reduction of the Royal authority.

On the other hand, he believed the feelings of the mass of the nation to have become more favourable to His Majesty, and that his power and influence were established on more secure foundation—*qu'il etait mieux assis*. This indeed would not secure him against the dagger of the assassin, but it was to be hoped that Providence would protect him as she had hitherto. His life was of the utmost importance to France and to Europe, and the Duke of Orleans was not popular; not so popular as he deserved to be, as he had many excellent qualities.

The
Princess
Lieven.

The Princess of Lieven was at Paris, and as I found she had inquired after me, I called at her hotel, and left my card. I received a very civil note the same evening to say that she was at home every evening, and would be glad to see me. I called soon after, and found there Count Pozzo di Borgo, Count Pahlen, Lord Hatherton, Mr. Sneyd, the Prussian Chargé des Affaires, and some others. Madame de Lieven received me very graciously, talked a great deal of old times at Windsor and Brighton, and expressed herself above all very sensible of the kindness she had experienced from King George IV., of whose amiable manner and intercourse she spoke in warm terms.

She observed that mine had been a very extraordinary and interesting career, and that if I had written or should write my memoirs they must be curious. She did not touch on politics, nor seek to elicit opinions; and with others the conversation was general.

Count Pozzo di Borgo kept me in play, or rather talked of himself and his own proceedings. He took great credit to himself for the conciliatory part he had acted in England. He assured me that he was not ignorant of the strong feeling which prevailed, and the language used with respect to Russia, and that he was often questioned on the subject by his Court; but that he always made the best of it, and described it as the casual ebullition of the moment which would pass off. He trusted that he was right, and that it *had* passed off.

Madame de Lieven pressed me to pay a visit to Prince

Talleyrand at Valençay, and told me that she had full authority to invite me, but I pleaded arrangements which obliged me to decline it.

Count Pozzo left his card for me on the following day, and I returned the visit—and having left Paris soon after, I saw nothing more of my Russian friends.

II.

The French School of Painting—The Madeleine—The Panthéon—Religious Devotion—Faith in Saints and Miracles—Havoc of the Revolution—Improved State of Commerce and Agriculture—The French Road System—Horse Breeding at Tarbes.

We remained in Paris from the 7th to the 26th September. I visited most of the public buildings and establishments. Nothing can be finer than the galleries of the Louvre, but I regretted the removal of the Rubens from the Luxembourg with which they were historically connected.

The old French school appears to me to have been underrated. Some of their modern schools have merit, but their style is, in general, *maniéré*, their colouring is glaring, their attitudes are extravagant, and their outlines are harsh; but as historical painters they have great advantages in the encouragement they receive. Every public act is recorded on canvas—prize pictures are purchased by the Government and given to provincial institutes and churches. The rising artists are certainly patronized more largely and liberally than in England, although more money may be expended in the latter in the purchase of the works of the old schools. On the other hand, it must be admitted that the extravagant prices asked by English artists for their productions is a great check on the disposition and the means of the patron.

The Gobelín tapestry and the manufacture of Sèvres porcelain are also distinguished objects of Royal patronage in France. ^{The Madeleine.} . . . The new Church of the Madeleine¹ is a very handsome building (in the plan of which the architect appears to have had in his mind the Maison Carrée at Nîmes), but the interior is spoilt by the profusion of gilding which, with the character of the ornaments, gives to it the appearance of a ball-room rather than that of a church. In the exterior of this, as in other new buildings in Paris, the appearance of the columns is injured by the use of cement too thick, and of which the colour does not

¹ This church was begun towards the end of the eighteenth century, but owing to the Revolution and other causes, was not entirely finished till 1842.

accord with that of the stone. The consequence is that there is a visible circle at the junction of the component parts or blocks of stone, which at a short distance looks like a deep circular groove or flute—like so many round cheeses placed one above the other.

The Panthéon. The Panthéon is a fine building, the application of which is somewhat questionable, being a receptacle for illustrious deceased, and yet not a place of religious worship.

A bas relief which has been recently executed by David (a son or nephew of the painter) for the pediment over the principal entrance, and which is of very mixed character (a sort of apotheosis of Voltaire, Rousseau, and other freethinkers whose tombs are in vaults of the building) had excited the ire and indignation of the Archbishop of Paris, and drawn from him a public and fulminating censure which may be said to have betrayed more intolerant zeal than good sense and discretion.

It would have been more wise to have considered the Panthéon extra-parochial, a *hors d'œuvre*, as its very appellation would show it to be, and to suffer the Frenchman to exercise his fancy in its decoration, as he has in its application.

These are not the arms by which the good Archbishop of Paris will succeed in reclaiming his flock. His censures and remonstrances are met with ridicule and pasquinades; nor does Paris appear as yet, at least, to be the place where respect for religion, with a correct and pure worship, will be restored.

The state of religious devotion.

There may be some outward show, and the mummery and the worship of Saints and images may be kept up by certain classes, but there appears to be little of real devotion. The higher classes of society do not set the example, and those who are to be seen at prayers are chiefly old women of the lowest class.

The Sabbath may possibly never have been observed as in England, but at present the only difference made in France (or Paris at least) between it and other days is in the description of the service, and in the dress of portions of the population.

Public and private works, labour in the field and in highways are prosecuted as on week-days. Theatres are open, as are shops, with some exceptions, and possibly those which I observed to be shut may have belonged to Protestants.

When the contrast between England and France in this respect is noticed, the reply is, "Mon Dieu, que cela doit être ennuyeux chez vous!—Le dimanche après qu'on a prié le bon Dieu, est le jour de repos et de plaisir"; and I grant that there would be some justice in the observation if it were applied only to the occupations of the lower classes, after the due performance of Divine Service, and that rational amusement in and out of doors is far preferable to the habitual resort to public-houses which prevails in England, and produces drunken affrays, such as do not disgrace the streets and environs of Paris or of

other French towns. But generally speaking, religion is at a low ebb in France, nor has it recovered the effects of the Revolution.

Many of the churches have been converted into other uses, some of them very little consistent with their original destination, and this while the population has increased. At Rouen, for instance, many churches still retaining their original form and some of their attributes (recesses for altars, niches with figures of Saints, stained glass paintings in the windows) have become storehouses and workshops, and this is the case in most towns. At Chartres a fine old church has been converted into a theatre, the front or façade of the building is altered, the sides retain their primitive form and windows. At Tours another has been converted into the stables and *remises* and the main entrance of an hotel; while the external and internal appearance of the building is otherwise unaltered. What was the Church of St. Julien is now l'Hôtel de St. Julien. At Aix a church has become the workshop of a coachbuilder. I might adduce many other instances. Even at Cannes (and in Provence religion appears to have maintained its ground more than in some other districts) an old church has become a *magasin*, and a chapel a *remise*. I am aware that this may be ascribed to the suppression of convents and of religious orders which had multiplied churches and chapels beyond the wants of the people, but the change is not the less striking.

On the other hand, greater attention appears to be paid to the education and selection of the parochial clergy, and I was assured that their duties are performed zealously and correctly, and that they are gradually recovering, with the lower classes, the influence which the Revolution had so essentially injured.

The
parochial
clergy.

Great attention is paid to the Ecclesiastical Seminaries, and the parish priest receives a stipend and allowances which are sufficient towards his respectable support in a country where supplies are abundant and cheap—the Government annual stipend is indeed only 750 or 800 francs, but there are few communes in which that is not made up by local contribution to 2000, and in some, from the size and character of the commune, to 4000 and even 5000. They have also a house and garden, rent free, and I observed that many keep a horse or mule or cabriolet.

It would seem that in some parts of France the Protestant faith is gaining ground. The Protestant chapels in many towns are well attended, and I have often heard Roman Catholics remark on the respectable appearance of their congregation, as contrasted with the attendance at Mass.

I was also told at Poitiers by Mr. Chauvin, an employé in the Préfecture, that he had been struck recently by the increased number of applications for licences for Protestant

chapels and places of worship in that Département (Vienne), and by the facility with which they were granted. He also told me that the missionaries lately sent to the French Colonies were almost exclusively Protestant.

In some other parts there is a want of toleration amounting almost to fanaticism ; at Toulouse, for instance, where, however, the population are almost always in extremes, or where, as an old soldier at Carcassonne observed to me, " Leur Religion est Politique."

I was amused at Montpellier by a conversation with a jolly-looking *Chanoine* who had answered very civilly some questions I had put to him. " Monsieur n'est donc pas de ce pays ? ni Catholique ? " " Non, Monsieur, je suis Anglais et protestant, mais cela ne m'empêche pas de respecter la religion du Pays dans lequel je me trouve, et ceux qui la professent, quoique j'avoue que je n'aime pas les prosélites." " Ah, Monsieur, a raison, parcequ'ils sont legers, flottants. Chacun peut avoir sa maniere de prier le bon Dieu qu'il sert, Mahométan, Païen, Juif, ou *Protestant*." I should have been inclined to thank him for the association if the remark had not evidently been made innocently and *sans entendre malice*.

At another place, Poitiers, an old woman put some questions to me which I did not understand, and a gentleman (the Greffier de la Cour) who had kindly undertaken the office of cicerone, explained to me that she had offered to perform some penances at the shrine of the patron Sainte Radégonde, for the benefit of our souls, if we would give her a few sous. To this I assented, and he bid her not omit to walk round, and kneel the prescribed number of times. He made a joke of it, and, upon my observing, in another part of the chapel, the alleged print on stone of God Almighty's foot when He appeared to Sainte Radégonde, and that it was very large, he said, " Il faut convenir que le bon Dieu n'étoit pas bien chaussé."

I met with many other instances, even in the lower classes, which showed that the faith in Saints and miracles is on the decline, although the outward show of worship may be retained.

But although this might be the case very generally, any insults offered to these images, any injury done to these churches which retain their sacred character, would probably be most seriously resented, and there are few circumstances which appear to have made a deeper impression upon the French people, and to have become (it may be hoped) a greater security against the admission and encouragement of revolutionary projects than the evidence, everywhere to be found, of the wanton destruction and devastation committed in the early periods of the Revolution upon the inner and external decoration of churches, monuments, carvings, etc. Nor were the outrages confined to

these. This work of destruction was extended to those remains ^{Havoc} of antiquity which Time, Franks, Normans, Saracens, and even ^{and ruin.} the more barbarous fanatics during the *Guerres de Religion* had spared. The injury done to these by the early Republicans is also a subject of great lamentation wherever it has occurred, and with it may be connected some feeling of interest, as the existence and preservation of these monuments of Roman structure had produced an influx of visitors which is beneficial to the country.

I have already observed that the ruins of châteaux are frequently to be seen, and the answer is invariably—"C'est la Révolution."

On the road from Aix to Brignolles there are striking ruins of an extensive and magnificent château. I inquired of the postillion, a very old man, whether it had been destroyed by fire. "Oh non, Monsieur, c'est la Révolution—Il ont détruit tout cela, les Républicains—je me rappelle cela, il y a 50 ans, comme c'était beau, et les jardins, les paterres, les terrasses qui arrivoient jusqu'à la ville. Cela nous faisoit du bien, les Seigneurs ; à cette heure nous ne sommes plus rien."

He spoke feelingly, and yet addressed me almost in a whisper, as if still dreading the vengeance of those whose excesses he condemned. Possibly other recollections increased the emotion, for he had told me earlier that, although now reduced to the station of a postillion, he had formerly been postmaster. He was strikingly like the late General Sir David Dundas in his morning jacket. On the road he went by the names of the *Vieux Papa*, the *Doyen de l'ordre*.

In many places the Baronial Châteaux of venerable appearance are wholly neglected ; in others, ruins which had formed striking features are in progress of demolition for the sale of materials. To my inquiries why they had ceased to be objects of interest and care, and to the expression of my astonishment that the Seigneurs should prefer a paltry sum to these relics, the answer was, "Ah, il n'y a plus de Seigneurie :—Il y'en a bien qui sont rentrés, mais ils vivent retirés ; la grande partie des propriétés a passé dans les mains de Roturiers, de Négociants qui ne pensent qu'à gagner de l'argent. Ils font leurs affaires, ils les font payer cher aux autres. Les pauvres n'y gagnent plus rien. Ils sont fiers, ces parvenus ; les gens bien nés ne le sont pas."

There are, however, instances of attachment to the ancient domains and residences. One of these is at La Napoule, near Cannes, formerly a large domain with a vast château. The former had been confiscated and alienated during the Revolution, sold like others for an old song in Assignats, the latter destroyed. The ancient possessor, the Marquis de Montgrand, has purchased for 7000 or 8000 francs the ruins of the château to prevent its

total demolition, although he has not the means of restoring any part of it.

Another grievance appeared to be that, in the enclosures of wastes and commons, nothing had been set aside as compensation to the poor for their little bit of garden, and the run of a cow, goats, pigs, geese, etc. This, however, is a grievance of old date, which they were led to hope the new regulations under the Empire would remove; but the evil remains, and they now look to the *Charte* and the Chamber of Deputies for the correction of these and other grievances. But the majority of those deputies, having become proprietors and Lords of manors, do not seem disposed to admit the claims of compensation which they might have urged while they sought to supplant others.

In spite, however, of all this there is less real ground of complaint, less of misery in France than in most other countries, and there are greater general sources of prosperity in the cheerful character of the population and their sober habits, in the quality and abundance of every description of produce, and in the climate of a great portion of the kingdom. Much has been done of late years to improve these advantages. The work of amelioration was begun during the Empire, and has been continued, especially in the present reign.

The utmost attention seems to be paid to the completion and maintenance of all useful establishments and to the encouragement of commerce and of agriculture; steam navigation and communication by railroads are being introduced wherever favourable; canals, ports, and piers are dug, constructed or extended, new and more easy directions are given to roads; and bridges of handsome appearance and solid structure replace less secure and less convenient passages of rivers and torrents.

Employment is thus given extensively, industry is promoted, and trade is increased. The attention of a great proportion of the population appears, indeed, to be engaged in trade, and the variety and abundance of produce offers ample scope for it. The number of new houses of good appearance would seem to denote the improved means of the inhabitants. It is to be hoped that all these circumstances may be of aid to Louis Philippe in his anxious desire to secure to France the continued blessings of peace.

Among the most useful of the establishments in France is that of the *Gendarmerie départementale*, who are stationed in more or less number in every town or considerable village, and who are employed as escorts to prisoners, watch over the police, and whose vigilance, in fact, extends to the whole arrondissement.

The Cantoniers system in France.

Another excellent establishment is that of the Cantoniers on the Routes Royales. They are stationed at intervals of a league or less, according to the nature and wear and tear of the

road, and are entrusted with the care and repair of that portion of it which is subject to their individual labour; the materials being conveyed, collected, and broken for them, and assistance being given towards any extraordinary work. They are very civil men—enjoined to be so to travellers and to assist them in need, without requiring any reward. Many are old soldiers. There are three classes—the first receiving forty-two francs per month, the second thirty-nine, and the third thirty-six; good conduct produces promotion from the one to the other. This pay appears small even according to the general price of labour and that of provisions (for they are not fed or clothed), especially as their attendance and work are daily throughout the year from daybreak until dark. Little remains for clothing or lodging, and possibly the charge of a young family. They wear a band on the hat with the word *Cantonier* and the number, which refers to that portion of the road under their charge. They are also aids to the police, and have constables' staffs. Above them are placed Superintendents of Districts, and the whole report to the *Directeurs des ponts, et chaussées* of the *arrondissement*.

It is much to be regretted that some arrangement of the same sort is not introduced on the high-roads in England, but the Duke of Richmond and I in vain suggested it to the Government, although we had the late King's sanction for so doing. Local interests and those of contractors prevailed. Yet the highways in France are much less exposed to outrage and depredation than those in England, and property in general is far more secure.

In proof of this I may state that our two travelling carriages remained night after night in *remises*, many of which were open and accessible, with the trunks, etc., upon them, and with loose articles in one (a Britzka) which could not be locked up—and that in the whole tour through France we did not lose an article of any kind.

. . . Great attention is now being paid to the improvement of the breed of horses, and there are royal *haras* in several *Départements*. I inspected one at Tarbes, which is on a large scale, and a fine establishment.

There is a very large enclosure containing the residences of the Directeur, of his assistants, and a detachment of Hussars (who are employed as rough riders), smiths' and farriers' shops. There are fine and roomy stall stables for one portion of the stallions, and another containing separate boxes for the remainder. The number of stallions is eighty; Arabs, Barbs, English, Norman, Limousin, and crossed with the mountain breed of the country. They appeared to me, in general, well selected for shape, bone, and substance. One or two

The royal
haras at
Tarbes.

of the Arabs were beautiful, and most of the English (of which the proportion is large) thoroughbred and handsome.

I noticed some of the French breed as underlimbed and calf-kneed, and was told that they were marked to be cast.

There are no mares; but the *Propriétaires* and farmers of the *arrondissement*, and any others, send their own. The preference is given to the English, next to the Arab stallions; and some of their produce, a cross with the mountain breed, are very clever. I did not observe any pedigree recorded beyond "*Fils de ———.*"

There are no restrictions on the sale of the produce by the owner of the mare, but he generally offers the colts to the *haras* as giving the best price, which, after all, only averages fifty francs for a six months' foal, and four hundred for a yearling.

The men supplied from regiments as rough riders are mostly Germans, as being the most quiet and temperate with horses, and there are large enclosures for turf exercising, which appeared to be kept in good order.

The pasturage in the plain of Tarbes and in the valleys contiguous to the Pyrenées is excellent, and the situation of a *haras* is generally selected with reference to this circumstance, as it encourages the peasants and others to keep brood mares.

III.

Versailles—French Victories—The Position of Louis Philippe—His Difficulties—The Restoration of Works of Art to the Countries from which they had been taken by Napoleon—Our Treatment of Napoleon after Waterloo.

It had been our original intention to proceed by Lyons to Turin, and winter at Rome, but the cholera interfered with this. Lady Taylor was, therefore, advised to pass the winter at Pau, and we left Paris on the 26th September, proceeding by Versailles, Chartres, Tours, Poitiers, Angoulême, and Bordeaux.

Versailles is too well known to require any description. Nothing can exceed its magnificence, and Louis Philippe has shown his good sense and his just appreciation of the French character in the attention he has paid and the money he has devoted to the restoration and embellishment of this superb palace, and to the completion of the memorials and records in sculpture and on canvas of national worthies and achievements.

It is the daily resort of thousands from Paris and from other parts of the kingdom, and their vanity is not a little gratified by the display, and by a selection of events from which is, of

course, carefully excluded all that might offer the reverse of victory, glory, and conquest. But this exclusion necessarily produces large chasms in the succession of historical events.

As far as we are concerned, the victories of the French in the early periods of our relative history, in the reigns of Louis XIV. and XV., and in the revolutionary war are copiously introduced; but there is no notice of Crécy, Poitiers, and Agincourt; of the Duke of Marlborough's successes, or those of Wellington, and there are few later representations, though I think there is one of Navarino, probably to please Sir Edward Codrington.

The French are represented triumphant in Egypt, in Spain, in Italy, in Germany, but their ejection from all those scenes of conquest is not accounted for, and the Monument, as an historical record, is incomplete. But there is doubtless in this long enumeration of heroes, and list of brilliant deeds, much to be proud of, and the Frenchman is not disposed to contemplate the reverse of the picture.

This omission might be passed over, but there is enough of victory without attempting to foist defeat upon the public as victory, as, for instance, the battles of Corunna and of Toulouse.

In further proof of the disingenuous manner in which the French record events, I may here state that in a work recently published which contains a very elaborate *Statistique* of France, there is a chronology of its sovereigns, and an abstract of historical events, which of course include the reign of Buonaparte, and a summary of his victories, but which passes over the campaigns in Spain, and does not make the slightest allusion to the battle of Waterloo, although it records the restoration of Louis XVIII.

Buonaparte's achievements of course fill up a large space, and there are ample records of other successful events of the Revolutionary war, in one of which (the battle of Jemappes) Louis Philippe figures as Aide-de-Camp to Dumouriez. The military category is somewhat flimsily closed by the Duke of Angoulême's attack of the Trocadero at Cadiz, which offers a petty pendant to the battles of Jena, Austerlitz, and Wagram.

But however much Louis Philippe may have reason to be pleased with the successful result of his own policy which induces him to engage the attention of his vain and easily excited subjects, especially the Parisians, in the contemplation of works which recall to their imagination the boasted times of Louis XIV. and of the Empire, he cannot be gratified by the necessity under which he is placed of recording, in every place, and upon every occasion, acts of his own which were performed *against grain*, and the recollection of which he would fain obliterate. There is not a palace, from Versailles to the Palais Royal and the Château d'Eu, not a public building which does

not contain a representation of himself, presenting and taking the oath to the *Charte*, and other acts consequent to the *glorious* days of July. He is generally represented in the costume of the Garde Nationale, surrounded by his family. He is obliged to record and exhibit as the principal and most glorious act of his reign that which may be presumed to have been the most repugnant to his feelings from his saying to me, "La Charte c'est la République."

He is obliged to record and celebrate other events and acts, which as a sovereign he must condemn and detest, and he is thus constantly in the position "*de devoir faire bonne mine à mauvais jeu.*"

It must be admitted that he plays the game well. It is no easy one, and posterity will do that justice to his abilities, prudence, and firmness which many are disposed now to deny to him. His difficulties, however, appear to be chiefly in Paris, for in the Provinces, as far as I can learn, he is gaining ground in the general estimation. In Paris great excitement, desire of change, and even sulkiness would seem to prevail in a portion of the population, although the incentives may widely differ. Many are Republicans or *Libéraux exaltés*. These are ever striving to keep up or revive the effervescence produced by the days of July, and by the martyrdom of the "*Héros des barricades,*" and they call in aid of their purpose public exhibitions and even the stage.

Others, not less opposed to Louis Philippe, and not less indifferent how they may disturb public tranquillity, are the Carlists, who perhaps hate him yet more than do the would-be Republicans. They cannot forget their proscriptions and losses during the earliest period of the revolution, the part which the late Duke of Orléans acted, and Louis Philippe's own service in the Republican ranks. It is reasonable to think that they would have been more easily reconciled to the sway of Buonaparte than to that of Louis Philippe, indeed many of them had shown a disposition to become candidates for *Imperial* favour, and it was part of Buonaparte's policy to encourage this disposition. These Carlists are selfish and prejudiced; they are bigots or hypocrites in religion, and they are in general, great intriguers, but they appear to be a distinct class in the country, and they have little influence beyond the circle of that class, nor do they appear to reckon in their ranks many men of superior talent or judgment. Indeed, to a party in which such a fool as the Duc de FitzJames is looked up to as an oracle, may well be applied the French saying, "*Dans le pays des aveugles les borgnes sont rois.*"

There are two points, however, on which all parties appear to be united in France, and which may be traced to that vanity

which predominates in everything. It is possible, indeed, that from one or both of these may arise the disinclination which Carlism, as well as Liberals, have shown to the Sovereignty of a branch of the Bourbons, while many of the former had not hesitated in the later years of the Empire to take service under Napoleon. The *glory* of the French nation had been raised to the highest pitch by that individual; and above all, their vanity had been gratified by the accumulation in Paris of monuments of art of which Napoleon had robbed every country to which his victorious arms had extended, as well as those smaller and weak States which could not oppose, nor even dreamt of opposing, the slightest resistance to his career.

It is well known that after the entry of the Allies into Paris, in consequence of the battle of Waterloo, the French were obliged to restore the statues, paintings, etc., to Rome, Florence, Venice, and other states and towns from which they had been removed, and this measure to which they so unwillingly submitted is generally ascribed to the interference of the Duke of Wellington.

This was often touched upon in conversation with me, but more particularly upon one occasion by a Carlist who had held a civil situation under Napoleon, had been continued in it under Louis XVIII. and Charles X., and had quitted it at the period which he called the usurpation of Louis Philippe. He asked me where a statue was which he had seen in Paris. I replied that it had been sent back to the Vatican.

“Oh, ma foi, c'est un mauvais tour que nous a joué, votre Duc de Wellington, et dont, certes, nous ne lui scavons pas gré. C'est *lui* qui nous a fait renvoyer toutes ces belles choses, tous ces fruits de nos Victoires.” “Ce fut un acte de justice,” I replied. “Comment donc, un acte de justice! et si on vous faisoit rendre tout ce que vous avez pris?” “Il faudroit nous mettre dans le cas d'être forcés de le faire,” I again replied. He proceeded, “How can you justify the seizure and retention of all those Colonies, and, above all, your conduct in India?” I replied that the capture of the Colonies had been the usual acts of legal warfare, and their retention the natural result of its successful issue, and that we had restored many which we might have kept so long as no Power or combination of Powers could force us to restore them, and lastly, this possession had been confirmed to us by treaty. But Napoleon, when he removed from various states in Germany and from every part of Italy, from private as well as from public collections, the most valuable statues, paintings, books, and curiosities, had transgressed the usual rule and practice of modern warfare, which had always respected this description of property, and he had extended his grasp indiscriminately to the property of those who had opposed him in arms, and of those

Trophies
of war.

who had been harmless. The fate of war having turned against him, those concerned in bringing about the change had been accused of retaliating, and yet had taken back merely their own, while the weaker had availed themselves of the powerful shield of the victorious Allies to recover that of which they had been wantonly deprived. From us nothing had been taken. We had nothing to recover, nor had we taken or retained an article of the objects in question.

He answered, "Still you were the promoters of the insult to our nation, and I repeat, if they made you return all that you had taken, where would you be?" I replied that I had already answered this remark, but I might add that in this case they had been made to disgorge that which they had availed themselves of, by *le droit du plus fort*, to seize upon.

I would even allow, for argument's sake, that they had been justified by that right in so doing, and that the property had become their own by *right of conquest*. The Prussians, Russians, English, etc., having acquired the same right according to the principle which he maintained, were not only justified in the recovery of the articles in question, but would have been justified, even without acting in a spirit of retaliation, in recovering from Paris the original French collections. Yet these had not been touched. As to the mode in which we might, in the course of history, have acquired some of our possessions, I did not mean to defend it on the score of equity or justice, any more than the Northern Powers could defend the partition of Poland, or than he would, I presumed, attempt to defend the more recent occupation of a large portion of the Barbary States by his own Government.

There were blots in the conduct of all nations and Governments, and no one felt more than I did that our proceedings in India, the conquest of which had arisen out of the peaceful establishment of a commercial factory, which we had extended gradually, chiefly by turning to our own advantage the dissension and differences between the Native States, which had received us as friends, could not be justified. Nor could I attempt to screen the Government or the Legislation by pleading that these were the acts of a Company of greedy merchants, for they had been directly or indirectly sanctioned by the Government and by Parliament.

My friend did not appear satisfied with my reasoning about the restoration of the works of art, etc., but dropped the subject, and merely said he was glad to find I was not inclined to maintain the correctness of our course in India, and he would grant that his countrymen were pursuing something like it in Africa, but that I must admit that their first attack on Algiers had been in revenge of gross injuries received.

I observed that the Algerines had afforded the same plea to

others, and had been punished for it by Lord Exmouth, but here the matter ended, and so might it have ended with the capture of Algiers and the exaction of enormous contributions by the French, but they had not only occupied that place permanently, but had extended their seizures to Oran, Bona, Constantine, etc. It was obvious from late proceedings that they had an eye on Tunis, and I need not remind him of the old proverb, "*Que l'appétit vient en mangeant.*" "But," said he, "how do you (*vous autres*) look at these proceedings? Your papers are very violent on the subject."

I replied that the language of our papers was in general more violent than the feeling of the country and the Government, and was not the fair criticism. Our disposition generally was, as in France, for the maintenance of peace, and although we could not like or approve their proceedings in Africa, I did not apprehend, from our jealousy of them, that they could become, at an early period, the occasion of war, especially as many of us looked upon them as a bad speculation, which must prove more ruinous than profitable. It was, however, more a *Turkish* question than an English one. The places and districts they are occupying and assailing are Dependencies of the Porte, and, with respect to these, insult had been added to aggression. The Sultan might appeal to us, and to Austria and Russia for protection, and this might naturally produce angry remonstrances and war, which I should greatly lament.

He granted that, as yet, the African expedition appeared an unprofitable one, but it employed a number of restless and unruly spirits who might be troublesome elsewhere, and in this respect the advocates for peace in Europe must approve it.

The second point on which this gentleman and others attacked me was what they termed our barbarous and ungenerous treatment of Buonaparte, who had thrown himself upon the protection of our Sovereign, and whom he had, nevertheless, treated as a captive, and caused to be conveyed to the desolate rock of St. Helena, there to die degraded and neglected; surely he had a right to be otherwise dealt with, and we had not shown, in this case, the magnanimity which became a great nation; our fears had overcome our better feeling.

Our treatment of Buonaparte after Waterloo.

I replied that I was quite ready to do justice to Napoleon's great qualities, and to the extraordinary abilities and resources which he had shown. I would admit also, that France had reason in many points of view to feel grateful to him, and therefore mortified at his final catastrophe and degradation. I would go further, I had often lamented that so extraordinary a man had, by his faithless conduct, incurred the penalty he had paid. I regretted also that it had fallen to our lot to become his gaolers, and that, being so, we had not consulted his comfort

and convenience a little more; but having said this, I must add that my regrets arose more from the sympathy which one naturally feels for fallen greatness, than from the slightest impression that Buonaparte had been treated unjustly or ungenerously. As little would I allow that we who had not ceased to contend with him, to defy his power at its highest elevation, and his violence, had on any occasion been swayed by our fears. Buonaparte had long been a fortunate and successful adventurer. He had been gallantly supported by a brave nation, and nothing could exceed the brilliancy of many parts of his career, but like most adventurers, he had not known where to stop, nor had he at any time been scrupulous of the means by which he attained his end, or of the mode in which he dealt with those who ventured to thwart him, or whose character and influence he dreaded—witness the murder of the Duc d'Enghien, and his treatment of the Popes.

My friend observed that this had nothing to do with the question he had started. I replied that it might not, but that I was coming to it, by adding that one of the greatest blots in the *character* of Buonaparte (as the murder of the Duc d'Enghien had been in his *conduct*), was the entire disregard of engagements entered into by him, whether they affected him personally or his Government. He had pledged himself by the convention of Chatillon, when he abdicated, not to renew the war, and he was conveyed to the Island of Elba, which had been assigned to him as a residence, and where he was treated with all the courtesy and respect to which, under the circumstances of his case, he could have any claim. He was to all intents a prisoner on parole, bound by solemn engagements and the laws of honour. He had forfeited his pledge. He had broken his parole of honour; had escaped from Elba and landed in France with a view to renew a contest of which even France was tired, and which might produce a civil war in addition to the struggle with Foreign Powers. He had done so on a forlorn hope, for it would seem that the great mass of the nation was far from inclined to view with satisfaction, or to encourage his attempt.

My friend here observed that the Army had called for him, and that he had, while at Elba, kept up *des intelligences secrètes* with many officers.

I replied that this did not mend the case, as it only proved that he had contracted engagements with the determination to break them whenever it might suit his purpose to do so; nor could any one doubt that a large portion of the Army would hail the attempt, but he could not possibly expect, nor could his partisans expect, that the Allies, having been so grossly deceived by him after his reverses in 1814, would run the risk of trusting him again, when again placed in their power, or would rely

in the smallest degree on his parole of honour. His declarations had become of no value. Buona-
parte.

“But,” said my friend, “admitting that he did so pledge himself (and that remains to be shown), there are, in the observance of all treaties, compacts, and engagements contracted by Sovereigns and States, *des nuances*, for which allowance should be made, and the instances are many, in which a departure from obligations *forcibly* imposed had been considered justifiable.”

I replied that I could not admit the principle in any sense. There could be no *nuance* in a question of honour. No State could be justified in the breach of engagements, and in the case of Buonaparte it was a personal pledge which had been broken. My friend repeated, “S’il l’a donné.” I observed that he had concurred in and signed the treaty which contained it, and surely this was enough. I reminded him also that there were no facts of the history of their own country of which Frenchmen were more proud than the scrupulous observance of their personal engagements on the part of two of their Sovereigns when prisoners on parole—John, after the battle of Poitiers, and Francis I. after that of Pavia. They could not, therefore, consistently approve of a conduct diametrically the reverse on the part of Buonaparte, or plead that there were *nuances* which might render it justifiable.

My friend then said, “But he had thrown himself on the generosity of your King. He had placed himself in his hands, at his disposal, and he ought to have protected him.”

I replied that George IV. was not in a situation to consult his feelings, if it had prompted him to overlook Buonaparte’s previous breach of his parole, as he was one of many interested in securing Europe from the revival of those scenes of blood which that individual’s restless disposition and insatiable ambition had produced; but that the fact was, Buonaparte had intended to seek a refuge in America, and finding he could not escape the vigilance of our cruisers, he made a virtue of necessity, and voluntarily surrendered to the captain of an English man-of-war, or sought refuge in it. This was well known. The nature of his appeal had not been mistaken by those to whom it was made, and he had been dealt with accordingly.

Here the conversation ended, and thus ended many others of the same description. They were not agreeable, as they invariably produced a little excitement on both sides, nor did they originate with me.

IV.

State of Society and Religion in France—Importance of a powerful Aristocracy—The Army—An Informal Introduction.

Party feeling, indeed, runs very high in France, and has been increased greatly by the Revolution of July, 1830, though the expression of it is not so loud as in England. Out of Paris it is, for various reasons, very much smothered.

It is not difficult, however, from cursory visits, and a transient view of their apartments to judge of the sentiments of the occupiers. These are betrayed by busts or portraits of the old line of the Bourbons, and prints recalling some affecting parts of their history; by busts or portraits of Buonaparte and prints recording some of his principal achievements, or by prints describing the glorious days of July, 1830. Memorials of Louis Philippe and his family are rarely seen. He is not popular; on the contrary, the prejudice is strong against him, and yet in general his subjects give him credit for great ability, for great acuteness of intellect, and admit that both are *à la hauteur de sa position difficile*. (In my humble opinion he and his family are, under the circumstances, *Godsends* to the country.)

State of
society in
France.

All this tends, with other causes, to produce in France (I speak of the provincial towns and districts which have fallen within my observation, and am ignorant how far the remark applies to Paris) a state of society which is disjointed and uncomfortable. This may be traced to the early periods of the Revolution, from the effects of which it is to be apprehended that France will, in this respect, with difficulty recover.

One of its leading principles was to place all classes upon a level; another was to destroy all respect for religion; to these was added the alienation of the property of those who emigrated, or who became the victims of popular violence or of the private ill-will or revenge of those who successively enjoyed a temporary and precarious power arising out of that violence.

The property so alienated was sold for sums which, being paid in assignats, was little better than nominal. Many of those who have returned from proscription have endeavoured in vain to recover the bulk of their property, and are living on the small wreck of it, in districts in which those who made these purchases are receiving the rents which were formerly theirs.

This is a constant and very galling source of ill-will, nor can they forget their former condition or better birth, nor reconcile themselves to the footing of equality, which long habit has confirmed, and yet they must submit to it while they cling to their native soil, unless they will make up their mind to almost

total seclusion. They have, indeed, still the nominal rank, but few have property to uphold it, much of it being in the hands of men whose habits and education lead them to prefer intercourse with the classes from whom they have sprung, and whose idol appears to be money.

Again, although there may be a general inclination to peace, and a dread of the revival of agitation and revolution, these arise more from selfish and interested motives (commerce and trade having become leading pursuits and occupations) than from any union of feeling, or any consideration of general welfare.

The political opinions and predilections are, as before observed, betrayed in various ways, though not expressed, and produce much jealousy and division, which are occasionally shown by underhand attempts, not always fruitless, to injure those who may hold situations under the Government, by misrepresentations to the higher authorities—*Dénonciations Secrètes* being still very much in vogue—hence suspicion always on the watch, and want of confidence.

The struggles for the re-establishment of religion, or at least Religion. of the influence of the priesthood, is another source of disunion. Certain classes have seen with regret the continued neglect of religious worship, and the consequent demoralization of a large portion of the community, and appear sincere in their endeavour to reproduce a better feeling; but there are many from whom they receive no encouragement and who treat the attempt with ridicule; while, unfortunately, the character of the religion which the priesthood strive to maintain, in opposition to good sense, offers weapons to scoffers—namely, the worship of images, the belief in miracles, and the continued use in common prayer of the Latin language, which not one in a hundred understands. The consequence is that the community may be said to be divided between unbelievers—or rather *Indifferents*—and bigots.

Then again, although there may be, in the upper ranks of society, many who are well inclined to the re-establishment of religion, it is generally remarked that they do not encourage it by their example, as they seldom attend Divine Service, and, as I have observed elsewhere, those who are now educated in seminaries for the church are, in general, taken from the lower ranks of society—so much is this the case that a small tradesman or person who supports his family by the labour of his hands often pinches himself to give *one* son a preparatory education for, and to maintain him at, a seminary “*pour lui faire un état qui le fasse vivre, et pour que je puisse me retirer chez lui lorsque je ne pourrai plus travailler.*”

It is also remarked that men, as a rule, especially young men, frequent the churches very little. This remark, however,

may not apply to the peasantry, who are more under the immediate influence of the priests, and who are, more or less, bigots.

Whether what I have said does account for the state of society which I have attempted to describe, others must decide. It appears to me that the introduction of a system and of habits of equality has been the origin of the evil; that so far from promoting union of society it has destroyed every principle of it by placing in *some* degree upon a level persons who cannot amalgamate; and that mutual confidence and general security are best maintained by a distinction of classes, such as that which has been hitherto preserved in England, where every member of the community understands his relative position, and where there is a leaning for support from one grade to the other which is rarely disappointed, and which, as it does not partake of subserviency, is perfectly consistent with the principle of constitutional freedom and of personal rights on which it is based.

Aristo-
cracy.

It is, indeed, generally allowed in France that its aristocracy has received a mortal blow by the introduction of the Elective Peerage, and the substitution of purse-proud upstarts for the Hereditary Noblesse, which some lament for the very reason that others approve; and yet both are ready to admit that the influence of our powerful aristocracy and gentry has in periods of convulsion and agitation proved our main safeguard against the demoralizing effects of revolution; has enabled us, after every convulsion, to recover our equilibrium, and by correcting partial errors and defects in the machine which these struggles have exposed, to render them the source of general advantage and increased public welfare.

The
Army.

Before I went to France I had been led to believe that the Army was the greatest source of danger to Louis Philippe, and judging from cursory observation, I might have continued of that opinion had I not satisfied myself that there are, in the present state and temper of the country, many safeguards. One of the greatest arises from the line of demarcation which appears to be drawn between the regular army and other classes of society with which the officers at least would appear to mix very little. I had been told this, and I endeavoured to learn the cause of it from both gentlemen and bourgeois. The answer was that the style and the tone of the Army did not suit either. They did justice to their good service in war, and to their gallantry, and they believed some of them to be men of science and acquirement, but in general they were without education, and had not the manners to make them agreeable members of society, many being vulgar and overbearing. These objections might be removed in time, but the prejudice they had raised

was strong against them at present, and even in garrisons few except the superior officers were admitted to much intercourse; nor, indeed, did they themselves seem to seek it. They were usually called "*Culottes de peau*," and they had acquired during war the habit of treating civilians with insolence, a habit which they could not shake off. In proof, the anecdote was cited of Prince Talleyrand, who had invited one of the general officers of the Empire to dinner. The latter coming late, excused himself by saying that he had been detained by a *Pequin*.¹

"Qu'appellez-vous '*pequin*,' Monsieur le General?" asked old Talleyrand. "Mais, mon Prince, nous appelons '*pequin*' tout ce qui n'est pas militaire." "Et nous," said Talleyrand, "nous appelons '*militaire*' tout ce qui n'est pas *civil*."

Another safeguard is the inclination to peace and commercial and agricultural pursuits which prevails in the great mass of the population, and which, therefore, is always placed in opposition to the feeling which the Army may manifest, or may be supposed to harbour, for war or disturbance; and with the former may be connected the *Garde Nationale*, which consists of tradesmen, artisans, and others who are averse to the renewal of war from which they would suffer in their various peaceable occupations, although they would possibly be found ever ready to join in the defence of the country against foreign aggression, and in maintaining internal tranquillity. All this would lead to the conclusion that the Army has gradually ceased to be the powerful and dangerous engine which I had imagined it to be, and that any attempt on its part to disturb the peace of the country would be successfully counteracted.

The number of troops of the line, cavalry and infantry, in and about Paris while I was there was not large, and the peace and tranquillity of the metropolis depended very much on the good disposition and co-operation of the National Guards, who are numerous, well clothed, armed and equipped, and altogether an efficient body. They mounted Guard at the Palace, and did duty with the line; but I did not observe this to be the case out of Paris, although they are embodied in many other towns.

I had opportunities of seeing in Paris and in other towns several battalions and detachments of the line, and was struck with the extraordinary shortness of the men, though they appeared active and useful young fellows, well clothed and equipped, and uniform in their appearance. The few movements I saw them perform were loose and slovenly, but in the French army the intelligence of the individual appears to offer the ready means of correcting defects; and ranks are closed, distances recovered, and dressings corrected without much interference of the officer.

The low standard in height is the more remarkable, as the

¹ *Pequin*—a term of derision used by the French military for civilians.

French peasants and labourers are mostly tall and lathy, a fine race of men; but, on the other hand, the regiments of cavalry and artillery of Génie, and the *Compagnies d'Élite*, are all completed by selection of the tallest men, and the line takes the refuse.

Besides this, the military service is not popular. Those who can pay for substitutes obtain them with difficulty—the price being often as high as 1000 francs and more. The pay of the French infantry is one sou per day, but he is fed, though not abundantly. He has a breakfast (a bouillon) at 9, and dinner at 5. The messes of a dépôt at Carcassonne, which I happened to see, appeared to me good, but there is no ration of wine or beer at any period of the year, and during the summer months only a small ration of inferior brandy.

A sick soldier on furlough, whom I picked up between Tarbes and St. Gaudens, added that the French soldier (the infantry) was not happy or contented; and those whom I saw had not often a cheerful or satisfied look. The contrast in this respect between the infantry and cavalry was striking.

Another soldier whom I met some months after, returning from furlough on the road to Antibes, where a detachment of his regiment is in garrison, told me that when on furlough they receive no pay, and after I had given him a franc said it was a Godsend, for he was without a sou. I asked him how he could get on; of course his pass on furlough gave him a billet and quarters at fixed stations. He replied it did so—it gave *logement* but nothing else, and finding himself without the means of purchasing any food at the last station and none given to him, he had come on. He was a remarkably fine lad, and cheerful withal.

There appears, indeed, to be little sympathy for the soldier on the road, and I have seldom seen them associating with the peasantry or artisan. They keep together, generally walking two or more, arm in arm, and are very clean in their appearance.

There do not appear to be many old soldiers left in either cavalry or infantry, excepting the officers, a large proportion of whom are men of long service, and judging from their style and manners have risen from the ranks; nor do the few younger-looking officers whom I saw appear to have been selected from the higher ranks of society. In short, there is nothing gentlemanly or distinguished in the appearance of the French officer of the present day. My remark applies to what I saw, and would seem to be borne out by the feeling betrayed with respect to them, as members of general society, by civilians of various classes, which I have before noticed. Those who have been at the camp of Compiègne, or in large garrison towns may have formed a different opinion, and it would, from such a sphere of observation, be the more correct one.

It may be presumed that the endeavour to introduce a different class of officer, and the check which peace has given to rapid promotion and rise from the ranks, produce a feeling of dissatisfaction which must forbid confidence in the attachment and devotion to the Army. Those whose career has been thus checked naturally wish for a renewal of war, and in the absence of external war, they might hail internal broil provided it should re-open that career.

Nor can it be supposed that the objectionable spirit of a portion of the Army has escaped the attention and vigilance of Louis Philippe, or that any means will be neglected to counteract its effervescence. The African warfare, however unprofitable it may prove to the nation, employs a part of the Army, occasions vacancies, and offers a field for promotion and reward which are dispensed with no sparing hand, and many of the discontented officers and N.C. officers having reached a period of service which cannot be much further extended, the Army is probably becoming daily less dangerous to internal tranquillity.

In the French service the private salutes the N.C. officer, and I observed that he even carries arms to those who are *décoré*, and they are very numerous.

I could learn nothing of the interior economy of the cavalry, nor did I happen, during my tour, to become much acquainted with any superior or even subaltern French officer. The detachments which I saw appeared to dislike the close observation of a stranger, and upon one occasion, at Tarbes, a sergeant suspended his drill of a squad upon my stopping to look on.

The pension of the retired and crippled French soldiers, although not large, affords in a cheap country a tolerable provision. A decoration carries with it some increase of pension.

The punishments, besides death, are degradation, public expulsion, condemnation to work in irons, etc. I witnessed in the Place Vendôme at Paris some degradations which were carried into effect in the presence of a large body of troops with great form and ceremony. But from their frequency I should doubt their producing great moral effect, and as a punishment in the field they cannot be very effective, nor tend sufficiently to the maintenance of discipline; in the absence of corporal punishment, the alternative, when examples are required, must be death.

Many of the old General Officers, distinguished for their service in the Revolutionary War, have retired to their native towns with more or less means and are much respected.

Among these is General Vial, who resides at Antibes, and with whom I became acquainted on the 6th November under no very favourable or promising auspices.

General
Vial.

Monsieur de l'Arras, Directeur des Ponts et Chaussées at Cannes, had procured for me the loan of a pointer that belonged to a Captain of the French army serving in Africa, who had left him under the care of his brother or cousin at the Isle Ste. Marguerite. I received the dog on the 5th November, and going to Grasse on the following day to make some purchases, I took it with me, as I was apprehensive it might be lost at the hotel at Cannes during our absence. Shortly before leaving Grasse, I walked through the streets while the horses were putting to, and when I returned to the carriage my servant came up to me under considerable excitement, and said that a very awkward affair had occurred. A French General Officer, Vial, had claimed the dog as having been stolen from him—would not believe a word he could say to him, nor wait till I returned, but had taken the dog, and was going off to Antibes with him. He showed me the General in the street dragging the dog by a string, and walking between two other gentlemen.

I followed him immediately, under the full expectation of an unpleasant dispute, though determined to avoid such, if possible. Luckily there was something so ridiculous in the appearance of an old French General Officer with his hands behind him, holding a piece of whipcord against which a large dog was pulling, that I felt more amused than angered, and I had some difficulty in composing my countenance.

His progress being slow, impeded by the dog, I soon overtook and addressed him very civilly. He appeared to be between 60 and 70, a grave and stiff-looking gentleman, wearing the Cross of the Legion of Honour, his two companions being also decorated. I expressed regret that I had been out of the way when he claimed the dog, as there was obviously a misunderstanding which I could have at once removed.

He answered very civilly, though formally, that the dog belonged to his nephew who was serving in Africa, who had left him to his care at Antibes, and that fearing he might be stolen there, he had placed him under the charge of his brother at Ste. Marguerite, and was therefore much surprised to find him at Grasse in the hands of a stranger, especially as his brother had no authority to lend him.

I replied that I was perfectly well aware that the dog belonged to a Captain actually serving in Africa, and I explained the situation generally.

General Vial upon this said, "Cela suffit, Monsieur, voila le chien (letting go the string) il est entièrement à votre service, gardez le tant qu'il vous conviendra." I then explained who I was, and rejoiced that although the introduction had been rather awkward it had offered to me the opportunity of becoming acquainted with so distinguished an officer. He bowed, and afterwards asked me how long I had been in France, how long

I meant to stay, etc. He introduced the Sous Préfet to me, and was rejoined by his other companion, Colonel Reille, who had gone for his carriage, and they drove off for Antibes. The General took leave of me very civilly and with a very pretty speech, leaving me with the Sous Préfet and Monsieur Desmarêts, my landlord, who had joined us and appeared well acquainted with both.

The Sous Préfet spoke highly of his old General, and told me he had himself been in the cavalry and had served in Spain. He afterwards called upon me at Cannes.

Thus ended a foolish affair which from what my servant afterwards told me (and luckily he had not time to tell me before I addressed the General) might have led to unpleasant consequences. General Vial had come into the public room at the hotel where my servant was sitting, in a violent rage, and said, "Monsieur, le chien est à moi, on me l'a volé." He then called him by his right name, but the dog would not go near him, which increased his passion. The Sous Préfet was with him, and they talked of Gendarmerie and punishment. My servant in vain endeavoured to account for the dog being in his possession, but did not oppose the General's taking him. He merely begged they would wait for the return of "Le General, son maitre, qui pourroit expliquer tout cela."

General Vial replied, "C'est moi qui suis le Général, je prendrai le chien qu'on m'a volé—Je n'attendrai personne ; les explications s'en suivront après."

I felt much tempted to send the dog back, but M. Desmarêts and M. de l'Arras entreated me not to do so, as the General, although he had been too hasty, "Etoit revenu de son erreur, et seroit très peiné et très sensible si on renverroient le chien." I therefore kept the dog, especially as I found I could not easily have procured another that would have suited my purpose.

V.

Versailles to Poitiers—A Discussion on the Political Constitutions of France and England—Poitiers to Bordeaux.

We proceeded from Versailles to Poitiers by Chartres and Tours, passing Châteaudun, where there is an old mansion finely situated upon a chalk rocky ridge above the Loire, which in olden times must have been very magnificent, but which, in spite of its massive construction, is falling into ruins. It contains two chapels, in one of which there are decayed monuments, and a very curiously constructed staircase ; also some large

halls and kitchens, and passages without end. I have seen few buildings better suited to Mrs. Radcliffe's¹ fancy, especially as the chalk rock on which it stands is perforated in many places with caves and cellars, which, however, are the receptacle of the votaries of Bacchus, and of stores of wine and other useful produce instead of ghosts and goblins. This château belongs to the Duc de Chevreuse, and not many years ago afforded shelter to some thousands of the poorer inhabitants of Châteaudun during an epidemic disorder, or after a fire, I forget which. . . .

. . . From Tours to Poitiers the roads and hedgerows are chiefly lined with walnut trees and some chestnuts. Sheep abound in small flocks, chiefly of the Spanish breed, or crossed with it. The Poitevins appear quiet and sober and very civil.

Poitiers.

Poitiers is an old town of considerable extent. . . . The field of battle is near the village of Maupertuis, one and a half leagues from Poitiers, but cultivation and enclosures have altered its face, so as to defy all traces of the military features of its ground. . . .

I went out early and entered a bookseller's shop to inquire the way to the Palais de Justice. A gentlemanly person, between 30 and 40 years of age, offered to conduct me, and very civilly accompanied me to that and other buildings. He appeared very intelligent and perfectly master of the history of Poitiers and the province.

M.

Chauvin.

His name was Chauvin, and he had been for several years concerned in editing a municipal journal in Paris, and had been on the point of going to London to establish a correspondence, when the journal was broken up. He was now an employé in the Préfecture at Poitiers. He spoke freely and sensibly of the state of France, which he considered to be satisfactory on the whole, though still somewhat unsettled, and not altogether free from the excitement produced by the Revolution of July, 1830, but he admitted that the agitation had been in a great degree confined to Paris, where its embers might still exist.

Louis Philippe appeared to him to have gained a firm footing in France, and he for one hoped that the present state of things would continue undisturbed. He did not deny that such had not always been his sentiments, for he had begun life as a warm Republican, but time and reflection, and, above all, the evidence of the mischievous and destructive effects of Revolution, had matured his judgment. He wished indeed that France could succeed in establishing a Constitution similar to that of England, but he was aware that this had been the

¹ Mrs. Ann Radcliffe, b. 1764, d. 1823. The authoress of "The Mysteries of Udolpho," etc.

work of ages, and that the character and customs of the people lent themselves to it in a degree for which it might be in vain to look in France.

France
and
England.

I observed that I was not surprised that a person of study and reflection, as he appeared to be, should have dropped the early fancy for Republican Government and institutions. The name of Commonwealth and the principle of Equality offered great attraction in theory, but in practice produced disappointment, a very objectionable and discordant state of society, and a struggle for power which, not being duly checked by salutary counterpoise, occasioned licence and outrage, producing eventually the worst species of tyranny. With respect to the influence of Republicanism on the condition of society, I need only refer to that of the United States of America.

I added that the laws and institutions of England all favoured rational freedom, and that nothing contributed more to the maintenance of our Constitution than well-understood gradations of rank which, from the peer to the peasant, acted as checks to each other.

We had a powerful aristocracy, and we had, as yet, a respectable and influential clergy, both connected with a very extensive gentry, long established, and possessing property and local influence. The two latter again were the links between the higher aristocracy and the yeomanry, the manufacturer and the tradesman. These again employed foremen and labourers in agriculture and in their various branches of industry. A large portion of all these classes were directly or indirectly engaged in commerce, and all were deeply interested in the maintenance of public peace and prosperity.

These classes were represented in Parliament by the House of Commons, the most powerful branch of the Legislature, but checked in its proceedings—as they may affect the Constitution, the laws, the higher institutions of the country, and, above all, the prerogative of the Crown—by the vote of the House of Lords, and by the necessity of obtaining the sanction of the Sovereign, which again resulted from the advice and the recommendations of *both* Houses of Parliament.

Such was the general situation of our population. The privileges of the relative classes were well understood and appreciated by each, and I believed that the great mass was strongly opposed to any change and was attached to the Constitutional Monarchy.

There were indeed some demagogues such as Hume, Warburton,¹ perhaps O'Connell, and others who were constantly advocating changes, and appeared desirous of subverting that which existed, and of introducing Republican institutions, and who—in order to carry their points, factious

¹ Henry Warburton, b. 1784, d. 1858, philosophical Radical.

or selfish as the wind blew—levelled their attack chiefly at the Established Church and the higher aristocracy, sensible as they were that the existence of the Monarchy is closely connected with that of those two bodies. Indeed, the beau ideal of these men was faction, and ambition was at the bottom of it. They would, *as sharers of the power*, serve a Monarchy or a Republic, but unless they could raise themselves they would be Republicans in a Monarchy, or Monarchists in a Republic. We had hitherto succeeded in resisting these insidious and mischievous attempts, and I hoped we should continue to do so.

I was not sufficiently acquainted with the state of France to compare it with that of England, or to judge how far the present elements might favour improvement, but it appeared to me that, although the abuses of the aristocracy and the clergy of France might have been the principal causes of the Revolution, the re-establishment of these orders had been neglected or overlooked when the Monarchy was restored; and popular institutions had been introduced without preserving the necessary counterpoise.

This might have been indeed contemplated, but the substitution of an elective for an hereditary peerage and other measures of the same character were not calculated to effect the object, while the candidates for clerical appointments had, I understood, ceased altogether to be taken from the higher classes of society. I added that the re-establishment of seigneuries and the maintenance of gradations of rank, and of an influential aristocracy and gentry in France were subject to a difficulty which we did not experience, namely, the equal division of property among children, whereas the right of primogeniture prevailed with us, and landed property was, in general, strictly entailed.

Monsieur Chauvin replied that I had received a correct impression of the present state of the aristocracy in France. It might be said to have ceased to exist as a body, nor was there otherwise much distinction of rank. As to the clergy, its influence had been destroyed in great measure by the destruction of Monastic Orders and establishments, and it was also true that the higher appointments, and yet more the *curés* were not, as heretofore, filled by the *Cadets de Famille*, but good seminaries had been formed for the education of the parish priests, and they were well selected.¹

¹ M. Chauvin's opinion of these seminaries and those who issue from them does not quite agree with that which was subsequently conveyed to me by others.

These stated that the persons generally sent to the seminaries are youths of low birth. They come out of them, and become Parish Priests, without having the slightest knowledge of the world nor any other information than that which leads them to encourage prejudice and intolerance; the consequence

The system of the Government had become one of greater toleration, of which he had frequent proof in the facility with which licences were granted for the establishment of Protestant places of worship. With regard to the principle of primogeniture, he was sensible that it tended to the maintenance of an aristocracy possessing superior property and influence, but he could not reconcile his feelings to the principle and practice which he considered partial and unjust. He preferred the rule of equal division which prevailed in France. Primo-geniture.

I remarked that I was aware of the existence of this feeling or this prejudice in France, but that it did not appear to me to be well grounded, and that I would repeat what I had said to a cabman in Paris who had told me that he had a small property and five children to whom he would leave it in equal shares, and that he considered this far more just and equitable than the English practice of leaving the estate, or the bulk of the property, to the eldest—that I had replied that justice and equity were governed by the law and usage of the country, and that these had in England reconciled younger children (and I for one was a cadet) to the preference given to the eldest; but that we also attached great value and importance to the system as offering the only effectual means of preserving hereditary property in families, and gradations of rank in society—that the senior branch of the family offered a *point d'appui et de réunion* to the younger, and by his superior influence and property assisted them in making their own way in various lines of life, whereas if the property or estate were divided and subdivided these resources must very soon fail. Taking his own case, for instance, he had told me that he had five children. I was ignorant of the extent of his property, but I would suppose a sum of 10,000 francs. His children would inherit 2000 each; and suppose them again to have five children each, and not to have increased their patrimony, the fortune would dwindle to 400 francs each.

I owned, however, that my reasoning had not convinced my friend the cabman, whose refrain was, "Tout ce que vous me dites là, monsieur, peut être bien vrai, mais toujours je trouve ça très injuste, moi." I should add that some provision was generally made by a charge on the estate; or by settling a mother's portion on younger children, and especially daughters, the sons being placed in professions; or by accumulating investments, insurances, etc.

M. Chauvin observed that there was much to be said in

is the revival of bigotry and fanaticism in the lower orders. On the other hand, the persons making these objections were scions of the *Ancien Régime* and advocates for a return to *Cadets de Famille* for clerical situations, and it may be questioned whether these were usually the respectable parish priests.—H. T.

favour of our system, and that possibly on further consideration he might become a convert to it.

He was not the only individual at Poitiers whose courtesy I have to acknowledge. Upon a second tour the same day with Miss Disbrowe and my daughter we met at the Palais de Justice two other gentlemen, one of whom escorted me to the top of the telegraph tower although it made him giddy, and the other (the Gréffier de la Cour) accompanied us to all the churches.

Poitiers
to Ruffec.

From Poitiers we went by Angoulême to Ruffec—the aspect of the country improves, and the character of the soil and produce vary on the route.

The inhabitants of Poitou and the Angenois appeared a very industrious and contented race. Those with whom I conversed repeatedly expressed themselves satisfied—“C'est un beau pays, un bon pays, nous avons de tout, nous manquons de rien,” and this is true enough as far as nature has provided, and as their wants and comforts go.

The vine is much cultivated, and the distilleries of brandy are very extensive. It is of a superior quality, the best being the produce of the white grape, called *la folle blanche*, and it is that which is sold and exported under the denomination of *Cognac*, although Cognac forms a very small portion of the district which produces the grape.

The abundance of walnut trees renders oil extracted from the nut an article of manufacture, and they boast that the finer quality is equal to the best Provence olive oil. Grains of all sorts are cultivated, also artificial grasses, viz. clover, sainfoin, and especially lucerne, to which they pay great attention, as they do in every part of France which I visited. I was told that lucerne is cut as many as seven times in the year, though this varies according to the quality of the soil, etc. The plant is said to last in the ground twenty-five or even thirty years if the ground is loosened to a great depth; but the fair average appears to be twenty years, and five cuts in each year. . . . The breed of oxen in these provinces is almost uniformly of a light and sandy red. They are very neat cattle with pretty heads and small bone. Their prices vary from 400 to 800 francs the pair, . . .

Bordeaux.

From Ruffec we proceeded to Barbesieux and thence to Bordeaux, crossing the Dordogne by a ferry boat at Cubsac,¹ where a magnificent bridge is in progress of building and will materially improve this route for travellers. . . .

There is a great appearance of commerce, and a continued passage of vehicles of every description excepting gentlemen's carriages, which, as before remarked, I have hardly observed out of Paris; nor did I, when entering Bordeaux, or during a stay

¹ Now called Cubsac-les-Ponts.

of four days there, observe one pleasure boat on the Garonne, and this in the beginning of October—a mild season and beautiful weather. . . . You cross the river at Bordeaux by a very fine bridge of seventeen arches. It is considerably longer and broader than the Waterloo Bridge on the Thames. . . . The magnificent *Quais*, the fine buildings which line them, the broad Garonne covered with trading vessels, the movement of business, and the surrounding scenery altogether offer as striking a picture as can well be conceived. . . . The old parts of the town consist of narrow streets, dirty as usual, and appear to be very thickly inhabited. The hackney coaches are the best and cleanest I have seen anywhere.

VI.

Bordeaux to Tarbes and Toulouse—A Postillion of Fate—The People of Toulouse—The Battle of Toulouse—The Canal du Midi—Béziers.

We learnt at Bordeaux that no houses in Pau or vicinity, nor any convenient apartment, were to be procured, in consequence of the reflux of travellers from the south, produced by the prevalence of cholera in parts of Italy, in Toulon, and Marseilles, etc., and we were advised to take up our own quarters at Tarbes, the climate of which was stated to be quite as mild and more dry than that of Pau. We therefore travelled from Bordeaux to Tarbes by Marmande, Nerac, and Auch. The country is well watered by the Garonne.

The inhabitants appear very industrious and cheerful, especially the Gascons, with whose character and disposition I was particularly pleased. . . . We met occasionally small groups of refugee Spaniards, chiefly of the lowest classes, wretched-looking creatures, also travellers of various nations, but no country carriages having the appearance of gentlemen's equipages and seldom horsemen of that class. . . .

The whole of the last stage to Tarbes was through a dead ^{Tarbes.} flat, consisting of low vineyards, fields of maize, and water meadows, the prospect being bounded by the superb chain of the Pyrenees. The plain which surrounds Tarbes is of considerable extent, and may be said to be within an amphitheatre of hills.

The town itself is the cleanest I had seen in any part of France, owing probably to the facility of supplying it with water from the innumerable streamlets which border the streets on each side, or traverse them.

The place appeared very dull. There are no remarkable buildings nor anything deserving of notice excepting the Government *haras*, which I have already described.

Tarbes and its neighbourhood are the resort of a few English families who prefer it to, and find it cheaper than, Pau. I understood there was some French society, but I had no opportunity of ascertaining this as Lady Taylor found the place cold, and we could not procure any house that would suit us.

We therefore determined to pursue our route southward after a stay of four days, having learnt from various quarters that the cholera had subsided at Toulon and Marseilles.

M.
Barrère
de
Vieuzac.

Tarbes is the birthplace of Monsieur Barrère de Vieuzac, the notorious member of the National Convention, and *Rapporteur du Comité de Salut Public*. Mr. Lewis Goldsmith, Lord Lyndhurst's father-in-law, had forced upon me a letter for him, which, however, I did not deliver to him, for although I saw him frequently upon the promenade before the hotel, I heard that he was not liked nor respected; on the contrary, was rather shunned, as his disposition led him to encourage disputes and broils. He seemed to be at least 78 years old,¹ and Mr. Goldsmith told me he was writing his memoirs, which, if he tell the truth, may prove interesting. . . .

The dress of the women is rather picturesque. Their head-dress consists of a broad piece of cloth or stuff, almost invariably of red colour, which is folded on their heads, or dropped from it on their shoulders, and which can also be disposed to serve as a screen against weather.

But the cottages and other residences betray the same absence of neatness, cleanliness, and comfort which appears to be the peculiar privilege of the French population.

I apply these remarks chiefly to the labouring classes, but want of neatness and cleanliness prevails in others also, especially among the men. The morning or walking dress—that in which they parade the streets of country towns, lounge in the promenades, or sit smoaking at the entrance of *cafés*—is often a loose and dirty threadbare waistcoat with sleeves, slippers of cloth or shammy leather, and a cloth or sheepskin cap—and in this dress they go spitting about in every room or passage. Indeed, many of them do this at all times, even when dining out, or at *soirées en grand costume*. Few shave every day; many do not oftener than once in three or four days, and they contract with the barber by the month or year, as few can shave themselves. Some of the gentlemen plead that these are habits contracted in the early periods of the Revolution, when it was dangerous to appear clean shaved or well dressed; equality in everything being the order of the day—and dirt a distinction.

¹ He was born at Tarbes in 1755.

I visited the bathing establishment and springs at Bagnères-de-Bigorre, but they are so well known that I need not further notice them. The walks and rides are beautiful, and I should conceive it to be a very agreeable summer residence.

Bagnères is cried up as a place of extraordinary cleanliness. Some of the houses and streets might be so: those I saw were not, but I might not have been there in the *clean season*.

From Tarbes we went to St. Gaudens, and on the following day to Toulouse.

There is nothing remarkable in St. Gaudens excepting its situation on a rise above the left bank of the Garonne. . . .

The appearance of the hotel, formerly a seigneurie, is deceitful. It is one of the worst of the many bad ones we had met with, and the charges were scandalously exorbitant, more so than any during our tour. . . . It is usual to fix the price of a breakfast and dinner and (when there is time, or a choice of inns) the price of the apartment also, but the chief imposition is in the extras such as wood, candles, and wine. At St. Gaudens the charge for wood for three small fires one night was 16 francs, and the total charge exceeded that of any place (excepting the Hôtel de Londres at Paris, which was also very bad) being 99 francs, while at some others we were far better lodged and fed for 45.

It seems to be established as a principle of fair dealing that strangers, and especially English, shall be made to pay exorbitantly in proportion to their *assumed* means. This is the *plea* where the innkeeper, the tradesman, the workman are palpably detected in the act of gross imposition—the plea by which he seeks to justify himself; but this does not prevent his declaring, or solemnly protesting, that his demand, or the price charged—double or treble what it ought to be—is *le juste prix*, that which should pass *entre frères*. The iniquity being practised towards a heretic may doubtless obtain absolution.

At Cannes, for instance, we discovered, after a time, that the farmer who supplied us with milk had charged just double the market price, and had given us short measure into the bargain. We at once contracted with another at the market price, and the first (when informed) with the greatest effrontery said, "*Et bien, je vous le fournirai au même prix,*" and the only satisfaction I had was telling him he was a *fripon* who should never again be allowed to come into the house. There may be exceptions to these practices, but I fear they are very few.

We arrived at Toulouse in the evening, entering it by the

Toulouse. Faubourg St. Cyprien. This approach is fine and embellished by many good houses, by walks and by avenues. . . . But the interior of the town greatly disappoints the expectations raised by this magnificent entrance. . . .

I walked through many of the streets, which are dirty and abominably paved, and visited the Capitole or Hôtel de Ville, and the principal churches.

The former is a vast building with Ionic columns. As yet the chief attention appears to have been bestowed on exterior ornament, the principal interior parts are in bad taste. In the court there is a very indifferent statue of Henri IV., and I must not omit to notice among the exterior ornaments some medallions which formerly contained the profiles of Louis XIII., Napoleon, and Louis XVIII., whose effigies had been effaced in order to substitute for them, *after the Revolution of 1830*, the words, "Liberté—Ordre Public."

The person who showed this building to us went out of his way to speak of "L'Empereur," to whom I had adverted as "Napoléon," and carefully avoided giving to the King of the French any other appellation than that of "Louis Philippe." There was a degree of affectation in it, but I notice this as one of many instances of the same sort of feeling, and which appeared to me stronger at Toulouse and in its neighbourhood than elsewhere.

The postillion who drove us from Toulouse to Basièges, the first stage, pointed out to me the telegraph at work, and remarked, "Peut-être nous apporte-il la nouvelle d'un autre attentat sur la vie de Louis Philippe. Ah! ils l'attrapperont bien encore."—"Mais," said I, "qu'est ce que vous y gagnerez? une autre révolution?"—"Ah, ma foi, je ne sais; nous ne sommes pas bien; sous l'empire cela alloit mieux. Il y en a tant à présent qui ne gagnent rien. Il n'y a pas moyen d'avancer."

It was useless to continue the conversation, but I could have told him that although there had been little employment for postillions of late (the cholera in the south having checked travelling), agriculture, manufacture, and trade had improved, and afforded full employment to the population of Toulouse, which, since 1815, had increased from 50,000 to 60,000.

A pre-
monition
of fate.

The mention of this postillion reminds me of another, who drove us the next stage to Villefranche. He had been forty-four years so employed, and told me that in the number of those whom he had driven were Robespierre, l'Empereur, the Pope Pius VII. on his return to Rome, whom he described as a *Vieillard bien respectable*, Generals Lasnes and Duroc, and the officer whom the Duke of Wellington had sent *en Parlementaire* to Marshal Soult, or who had brought the account of the Convention of Chatillon (Colonel Gordon, or Sir Henry Cooke, I could not make out which). I observed to him that all those

whom he had mentioned to me as having had the advantage of being driven by him were dead. I hoped our meeting would not have the same premature result.¹ He replied that the best way to avoid it would be for him to have “de quoi me la souhaiter bonne et longue.”

The people of Toulouse have often shown a predilection for extreme opinions and extreme measures, and have not always been consistent—towards the end of the twelfth century during the persecution of the Albigenses; again during the religious wars in the reign of Charles IX., when they eagerly repeated at Toulouse the bloody scenes which had taken place at Paris (the St. Barthélemy), the anniversary of which horrible massacre was long celebrated by them; and again during the war of the Ligue in the reigns of Henri III. and IV., when they took part against those Sovereigns and ordered a funeral service in honour of Jacque Clément (the assassin of Henri III.), whom they raised to the rank of a martyred Saint.

It was at Toulouse that Calas,² a respectable *Protestant*, was (in the eighteenth century) condemned and tortured to death by the sentence of its Parliament, without proof of guilt, and where his execution was celebrated by a solemn *Te Deum*.

Little attachment was shown to Napoleon when his fortunes were on the decline, and on the second Restoration of the Bourbons a number of miscreants, promoters of agitation and disorder, under the affectation of zeal for the Bourbons, persecuted all who were either partisans of Napoleon, or whom they chose to designate as such, in order to gratify private and personal hatred, and upon this occasion they murdered and mutilated the Commandant of Toulouse, General Ramel, a very respectable officer who had endeavoured to check those excesses. . . .

During our progress through France, the events of the war had been the frequent subject of conversation with individuals of various classes and professions, and I had observed that while they either avoided the mention of, or adverted with bitterness to, their reverses in Spain in general, or to the battle of Waterloo, they dwelt with satisfaction and apparent pride and exultation on the protracted operations in the Pyrenees, the sortie from Bayonne, and the battle of Toulouse. They had even been made to believe, or had persuaded themselves, that the latter had been a victory gained by Marshal Soult. I have already observed that it was so recorded at Versailles.

¹ Nevertheless, it is a curious fact that Sir Herbert Taylor's illness began only a few months later, and that his death took place within a year and a half of this conversation.

² Jean Calas, b. 1698, d. 1762, a Protestant merchant at Toulouse.

Such, however, were not the prevailing impressions in the country bordering on the Pyrenees. The inhabitants spoke without hesitation of the military events, of which many had a lively recollection. They gave credit to Marshal Soult and his gallant army for having maintained a brave and obstinate struggle with inferior numbers, but they did not claim the advantage, or any part of it, for them.

At Tarbes and other places through which the French and British troops had successively passed, they did justice to the admirable discipline of the latter, and assured me that the contrast was strongly in their favour; that houses and shops which had been closed against French pillage were, after a short interval, opened to the English, who paid for everything, and punished every species of disorder. Some, indeed, said, "Que c'étoit par politique que le Duc de Wellington en agissoit ainsi."

The
battle of
Toulouse,
1814.

At Toulouse itself the battle was described to me as obstinately contested, and murderous, and as having occasioned, during its progress, intense anxiety in the town, but its immediate result was not stated to have been doubtful. All the exterior positions and defences had been carried, and the attempt to maintain the town could have served only to destroy it, while the Duke of Wellington had shown forbearance in not following up an attack from which Toulouse must have suffered so dreadfully. Such was the language, and they further admitted that the loss of the French must have equalled that of the British, although the Scotch above all had suffered very severely. "Il paroît qu'on les met toujours en avant," was the additional remark. "Mais toujours ils avoient bien frotté les *Espagnols*," whose loss they superadded to that of either side.

Some blame Soult for fighting the battle and occasioning a very unnecessary and gratuitous effusion of blood, as they conceived that he could not be ignorant that a Convention had been concluded, or was on the point of being concluded, between Napoleon and the Allies. They wholly acquitted the Duke of Wellington of such unworthy conduct, but it appeared to be the opinion at Toulouse that he might have avoided the necessity of attacking Soult in the position he occupied and had fortified if he had moved on Castelnaudary; or even if the state of the roads admitted of his reaching Villefranche, thus coming in the rear of Marshal Soult, and intercepting his retreat through Lower Languedoc, and his communication with the corps of Suchet, who had equally evacuated Spain and was then near Narbonne; and finally leaving to him no retreat but in the direction of Montauban.

I had only a general and very distant view of the advanced positions occupied by the French which were carried on the

10th April, but the ground appeared to be very strong, and it was supported by a second and even a third range of works all admitted to have been constructed with care, and well furnished with artillery. Twenty-five thousand or thirty thousand good troops, thus posted, might well be expected to resist the attack of double or treble the number of assailants; and considering the failure of the Spaniards and the rashness of Sir Thomas Picton, it is extraordinary that the success of the Duke of Wellington was so decisive on the 10th. Toulouse.

At any rate, it forced Soult to abandon Toulouse in the following night, notwithstanding his boast that it would prove the grave of the British army if they attacked it. The works ought not to have been carried, and I am convinced that twenty-five thousand British would have maintained them against any attack.

Proceeding from Toulouse to Castelnaudary we found the roads generally in a bad state from the long and uninterrupted drought, of which many complaints were made by the *Propriétaires* and labourers, as it rendered work in the field very arduous, and prevented the sowing of wheat and other grain. Its effect on the road was anything but agreeable, for the surface had become pulverized to some depth from the want of water, and the dust was in many parts excessive.

One of the striking features and most important works of the Département de Haute Garonne, and indeed in France, is the Canal du Midi. The Canal
du Midi. Its course from Toulouse is by Villefranche to Castelnaudary, where it has a very large, handsome and convenient basin which has the appearance of a small port with some trade.

Its course continues to the Port of Cette, and by its juncture with the Garonne at the other extremity it establishes the navigable communication between the Atlantic and the Mediterranean.

The supply of water is brought by artificial channels from the Montagne noire (part of the Cevennes).

The importance of such a work would naturally strike all Sovereigns and Governments of enlightened views, and accordingly the establishment of this canal appears to have been contemplated successively by Charlemagne, by François I., by Henri IV., and during the Ministry of the Cardinal de Richelieu. In 1662 the project and plans of the canal were again brought forward by Andréossi,¹ the civil engineer, and being submitted to Louis XIV. were approved by him. . . . The canal was opened for navigation on the 13th March, 1681.

. . . Upon the whole of the road to Béziers I do not

¹ François Andréossi, b. 1633, d. 1688.

remember seeing a gentleman's equipage, which is the more extraordinary, as Carcassonne, Béziers, and even Narbonne are towns of considerable provincial importance. Indeed every step in France reminds me of the remark made to me at Poitiers, "La Seigneurie, il n'y en a plus." Nor can this be ascribed to the absence from the provinces of the Propriétaires, for at Paris, when I remarked late in September that the number of carriages, etc., to be seen in the streets fell very short of those in London, the answer was, "C'est qu'à cette saison tout le monde se trouve à la Campagne." My reply was, "C'est tout comme chez nous," but how wide the difference between the neighbourhood of a second- or third-rate English town and a French one!

Béziers.

Béziers is beautifully situated on very rising ground, and its approach is through a very productive plain abounding in vines, grain of every description, and increasing proportion of olive and mulberry trees, giving the appearance of a vast garden.

The Orb and the Canal du Midi both flow below the hill on which the town is built. There is a bridge across the Orb, and a basin for the canal with several sluices. The ascent to the town is very steep. The streets are dirty and narrow although there are many good houses; but some improvements appeared to be in progress.

The prospect of the surrounding country is very extensive and beautiful and includes the Mediterranean, which in the progress of our journey opened from many parts of the road. . . .

. . . The head-dress of the women in the Départemens de l'Aude et de l'Hérault is in general a silk handkerchief of various colour in the shape of a turban, often very neatly put on, and folded with considerable care and coquetry.

CHAPTER XXVIII

1837-1838

NOTES ON A JOURNEY THROUGH PARTS OF FRANCE AND ITALY
(*continued*)

VII.

Montpellier—Nîmes—Arles—Aix—"La Tour de Charles Quint"
and the Invasion of Provence by Charles V.—Fréjus—The Approach to
Cannes.

UNCERTAIN as we still felt as to the state of the cholera near Toulon, and how Lady Taylor might be able to bear so long a journey, we had contemplated the contingency of stopping at Montpellier, which, although now out of fashion, had long been resorted to for health, and, as we had been taught to believe, possessed the advantages of comparative cleanliness with good and comfortable accommodation; but we were much disappointed in our expectations, and a stay of three days satisfied us that we had better proceed. The streets in the new parts of the town, although airy, are neither paved, macadamized, nor watered, and are dusty to an intolerable degree.

There are many redeeming qualities which may render Montpellier a delicious abode to Frenchmen, who do not appear to mind dust, or dirt of any description. The environs are beautiful. It is the headquarters of a military division, and a large garrison adds to the animation of the place; there is a good theatre, a handsome museum containing many good pictures, and a library, etc. Above all, there are two very fine public promenades, although at extreme points, the intermediate space being the narrow streets of the old town, or the dusty ones of the new one.

From Montpellier we proceeded to Nîmes—entering the Département de Gard half a league beyond Lunel, a village which is remarkable only for its excellent sweet wine, which travellers are much urged to purchase in their passage through it. . . .

Nîmes, where we arrived early and stayed two nights, is Nîmes. the most interesting place I had visited in France.

Those who show the Amphitheatre and the Maison Carrée are intelligent persons. I purchased of the *Directeur des Feuilles* a small bronze figure of the Belvidere Apollo, which he told me had been found there, and which, whether antique or not, appeared to me from its execution well worth the 250 francs I paid for it, nor had I seen any other like it.¹

The Temple of Diana is shown by an old soldier, who, although he had served during the early campaigns of the Revolutionary War, lamented bitterly the injury done by the Republicans to these monuments against which they had exercised their fury, because they were *memorials of Imperial power*. Nor is the attention *now* paid to this ruin which it merits. Shafts, capitals, and pedestals are lying neglected, which are parts evidently belonging to each other, and which might easily be restored.

I noticed also fragments of inscriptions scattered, which, in the form and fracture of the stone or marble, and the characters, would have fitted had they been united.

The interior of the Maison Carrée contains many interesting fragments which have been collected with care, but there are others scattered on the outside, some of which might be put together so as to form some idea, however imperfect, of the outer quadrangle. The Collection in the interior suffers also from its being made the receptacle of paintings and other articles which have no connection with the antiquities.

The Palais de Justice is said to be built on the foundations of the ancient Palace or Temple of Plautina, and I was told that there existed some intention of pulling it down with a view of excavating in search of antiquities. The elevation and its decorations are admitted to be in very bad taste, and on that account its removal would be an advantage. It is strange how little many of those who have erected modern buildings here and elsewhere in these districts, have benefited from the beautiful models of the Augustan Age with which they abound.

Arles.

. . . On quitting Nîmes we were persuaded to take the route of Arles rather than that of Avignon. . . . We crossed the Rhône on a permanent bridge of boats. . . .

¹ There is, indeed, habitually so much imposition on the part of those who sell what are called antiques, or the original paintings of the Old Masters, that it would be absurd, in the purchase, to place any confidence on any but a very well-exercised judgment, and even that may be often deceived. I have therefore always been of opinion that if well-executed and pleasing specimens of art can be obtained, they had better be acquired (if the price be moderate) without reference to the question of antiquity or originality. Many modern works are indeed as good and more pleasing than old ones, and a celebrated name often conveys the only value to an indifferent or disagreeable work.

I am sensible that *professed connoisseurs* will not agree with me, but I think artists will.—H. T.

The existence of Arles cannot be traced beyond the time of Julius Cæsar, although a canal is said to have been dug by Marius to receive a portion of the Rhône very near to its site. . . .

It soon became the *Entrepôt* of the commerce of Marseilles with the interior, and the resort of Romans and Gauls. Its commerce rose subsequently on the fall of that of Marseilles.

Its prosperity attracted the notice of Constantine, by whom it was especially patronized, and who built a palace there for his residence, and embellished the town with other buildings, to which additions were made by his successors. Arles continued nearly six centuries under the dominion of the Romans, and then fell into the hands of the Goths. For some time it partook of the decadency which generally resulted from the Northern invasions, and experienced, as did other Roman colonies in Gaul, every vicissitude of treatment from successive conquest and occupation, and the devastations committed by Goths and Franks.

The fanaticism of early Christians also contributed not a little to the destruction of many of the Roman monuments.

At a later period Arles constituted itself a Republic under the German successors of Charlemagne, and its commerce and shipping became very important, being greatly favoured by its position below the division of the Rhône into two principal branches.

But the interest which this town now claims rests on the extensive and fine remains of Roman work, and on edifices which, though sadly neglected, are nevertheless very important. . . .

The road from Arles to Aix is the dullest and ugliest that can be conceived, across a plain which is either marshy or barren, and covered with stones and pebbles of every size. These are so thickly strewed on the surface as to exclude vegetation, and a few scattered patches are alone rendered fit for precarious cultivation by clearing them of the stones at great labour, and collecting them in frightful heaps. Trees are scarce and stunted, habitations few and of a wretched description; nevertheless this tract or plain produces, in many parts, good wine, although the plant is small and short-lived; and it is occasionally resorted to by flocks of sheep from the marshy pasturage.

From
Arles to
Aix.

The plain is traversed by the Canal of Craponne, which affords some partial facility of irrigation. It is also traversed in one of its extremities by the Rhône, the division of which into two principal branches encloses the vast plain or island of *Camargue*, which is bounded on the south by the Mediterranean and is partly cultivated, producing wheat, wine, olives, etc.

The rest of the Camargue—of which a large proportion is marshy—serves as pasturage for large herds of cattle and flocks of sheep, as well as horses of small size, which seem to partake of the Barb breed. They are foaled black, but in general become white.

The cattle (often called by the country people *Bœufs Marins*) run wild, and are easily driven into enclosures, caught and marked with a hot iron to establish the ownership. Numbers assemble for this sort of chase, which is conducted as a fête and with some ceremony. The stock of every description is driven, during the summer months (when the heat in this unsheltered plain would be intolerable), to higher pasturage on the banks of the Isère and Drôme, and to the higher and lower Alpes. . . .

The whole road to Brignolles is picturesque. The first part passes through rocky hills intersected by torrents and narrow valleys, the borders of which are well cultivated and produce corn, wine, olives, also garden vegetables in abundance. . . .

From Brignolles we proceeded, by Luc and Vidauban, to Fréjus through a very fine country, the first part hilly, but well cultivated as far as Flassons, where we noticed plantations of orange trees; thence across a level country to Luc, and again from Vidauban across the plain of Argens watered by that river, which we crossed, as we did also the Naturbie, which flows into the Argens not far from Muy.

At Muy are the remains of a tower which bears the name of "Tour de Charles Quint," celebrated for the opposition which he offered to the progress of Charles V. in his invasion of Provence, 1536, and his advance after gaining possession of Fréjus.

The resistance had everywhere been very great on the mountains near Grasse, which town suffered severely in consequence, and on the Esterel where the gentry and the peasantry, the old and the young of both sexes, united in the work of defence.

Buildings and produce were destroyed by themselves, and fragments of rocks detached from the summits were hurled on the troops of the invader in every narrow pass. Still all this failed to arrest his progress. He obstinately pursued it for some time, and appeared (even after the occupation of Fréjus) to have flattered himself with the hope of being able to establish himself permanently in Provence, but he was finally obliged to retire, his advance and retreat being alike traced by destruction and devastation. Districts and towns which had escaped the fury of Goths and Vandals and the yet more fatal violence of Saracens or of Christian fanatics, felt the iron hand of a Sovereign who had professed to be the patron of arts and sciences, and the promoter of returning civilization.

The tower in question at Muy flanked the invader's march, and in it had taken post a few seigneurs of Provence and some retainers or peasants who had devoted themselves to its defence, determined to do him mischief, callous of their own fate. Accounts vary with respect to the numbers or quality of these gallant and self-devoted patriots, some describing them as seven gentlemen of Provence only, who had sprung a mine or exploded a machine on the road with the intention of destroying the Emperor, and failing in their purpose, had maintained the tower for some twenty-four hours against every attack until reduced to two survivors who had *capitulated*, notwithstanding which, the enraged Emperor had caused them to be hanged.

Another and more probable account states that the tower was occupied by five or seven gentlemen and thirty peasants who, when the *troupe dorée* approached, directed a murderous fire upon it, and defended the tower till the following morning; when their numbers being reduced to eight peasants, these capitulated on conditions that their lives should be spared, but were immediately hanged; that one of them, as he was hoisted up, exclaimed, "Well, we shall still look down on the Tyrant."

Truth and romance may be mixed in these accounts, but all agree in the main facts that the tower was heroically defended; that capitulation was granted to the survivors and shamefully broken. No one will deny that this act of devotion was equal to that of Scaevola, Decius, and Curtius; but how different the conduct of Porsenna and of Charles V. ! Yet the circumstances appear to be hardly known out of Provence, while the annals of France and other countries abound with very commonplace and selfish patriotism which are celebrated as acts of heroic devotion.

Unfortunately there does not appear to exist in France, and in Provence, especially among those who possess the means, much taste for the preservation of the interesting monuments of various periods of history with which it abounds.

The population of the Var, especially that of the frontier, was ready to unite, and to exert itself in resisting foreign invasion in 1536, and again in 1793, when the Austrians and Sardinians entered Provence. In 1815 there was no opposition of this character. The population were tired of war, and had had a surfeit of the sacrifices it entailed. They had recently sworn allegiance to Louis XVIII., and many saw with displeasure and regret, and viewed as desperate, the reappearance and the attempt of Buonaparte to recover by violence that which he had pledged himself not to disturb; nor indeed did the country, in general, show any disposition to make common cause with him, or seem to admit it to be a national one.

We arrived at Fréjus too late to see anything but the ruins

Fréjus. of the Amphitheatre, close to which we passed on entering the town, and which are near the hotel, a wretched and dirty one, though remarkable for having been in 1814 the residence of Napoleon during a few days previous to his embarkation for Elba, when I was told that he confined himself to his rooms.

Here or rather at St. Raphael, a small port to the S.E., he landed on his return from Egypt in October, 1799; and here he meant to have disembarked in March, 1815, on his evasion from Elba, but adverse winds obliged him to land in the Bay of Juan, between Cannes and Antibes. . . .

. . . It is singular that there should be no remains or ruins of temples, but research seems to have been neglected at Fréjus, even more than at Arles. Some excavations appear indeed to have been occasionally begun, but soon laid aside, although, slight as they were, they produced various interesting objects of art and record.

Some of these were sent to Paris, others have been left in the ground, and many fragments are consigned to a corner of the Hôtel de Ville and piled up as lumber, others have been converted into building materials in a country which abounds with such in all directions!

The great
aqueduct.

In 940 Fréjus was partly destroyed by the Saracens. In 1475 the destruction was completed by pirates. In 1536 the churches were pillaged by Charles V., who in his dreams of conquest may, however, have contemplated some compensation, for he gave to Fréjus the name of *Charleville*, which did not survive his retreat from Provence. . . . I was told that the course of the aqueduct might be traced to the mountains at a great distance, near the village of Mons, whence it traverses the districts of Callas and Montauroux, and that, in order to reserve the *flow* of the water, parts of it have been cut through rocks of great depths, parts carried underground, and parts raised on arches of one or two rows, some of which are between fifty to sixty feet high. At a short distance from Fréjus, on the Italian side, there is a division of the line of arches into two branches, one of which supplied the town on the northern extremity, and the other supplied the port. It would appear that, in the undertaking of these works, and possibly of others of the same character, the Romans did not understand the science of levels, or that they neglected to take advantage of it. They were never sparing of labour; cut deeply through rocks; prolonged the course by great and extensive masses of masonry, much of which might have been avoided by the application of those rules which nature has suggested. Difficulties were surmounted by labour, and force supplied the means. Yet in the direction of their roads (the Aurelian, for instance, as far as it can be traced) we find them preferring a line, often circuitous, by plains and valleys, to the more direct one across the higher ground.

The port had been dug near the walls of the town, and Fréjus. communicated with the sea by a tortuous channel which had its entrance from the sea near a large rock called the "Lion de Mer," distant about a league from the beach. The channel appears to have been kept clear and clean by a sort of back-water, fed by the river Argens.

Of the Quais there are still some remains, as well as of a Port Gate which was called a Triumphal Gate, and now has the name of *Porte Dorée*. Its elevation is very handsome, and is quite detached from the remains of the rampart walls. The origin of the appellation *Porta aurea* is uncertain. If I may hazard a conjecture which differs from others, it was so called from being that of Imperial egress and ingress.

All these works of utility and splendour, all that gave beauty and importance to Fréjus during some centuries, was successively destroyed by barbarians and pirates. The town is now ill-built and filthy, and of mean appearance. Ruins more or less extensive and interesting alone attest its ancient grandeur. Even its port has disappeared, and the basin which formerly received the gallies¹ from Actium is now choked up, and is the site of cabbage gardens and hovels which are enclosed by walls of Roman baths, foundations of triumphal arches, and by other monuments of Roman Sovereignty.

The works which formed the port having been neglected, the channel and the basin were choked up by the alluvious earth introduced by the river which under *good management* had been formerly applied to their preservation. The mud spread itself over the bed and over the adjoining tract, and the whole became a stagnant and noxious marsh. This has, however, been drained, and, to judge from its produce in vegetables, grain and grass, amply repays the cost of that operation.

There has been found at Fréjus a monumental stone inscribed to the Emperor Aurelian, which styles him "*Restorer of the World, the Invincible, the Conqueror of the Germans, Goths, and Parthians.*"

Considering the ancient origin of Fréjus, its early prosperity and subsequent importance, as still attested by ruins, and as contrasted with its present wretched appearance, and adverting also to its connection with striking features in the career of Napoleon, there are perhaps few places better calculated to impress the mind with the vicissitudes of the History of Empires, cities and men, or to exemplify the moral of *Sic transit Gloria Mundi*. Arles may be cited as another instance, though in a far less degree. Yet the face and natural resources of the country continue the same; the population is hardy, industrious, and apparently happy; civilization and science in

¹ Taken from Antony at the battle of Actium, and sent by Augustus to Fréjus.

all their branches have progressed; navigation and commerce have been enormously extended; and the immediate effects and influence of war are not felt in the same degree as in remote periods.

The road from Fréjus to the Esterel is very beautiful; the first part through a short plain crossed by the aqueduct, and thence by a steep ascent, often passing near precipices, across the beds of torrents, and amidst a scenery in which rocks, in parts bare and nearly inaccessible, are in others clothed with the most luxuriant foliage of evergreen and deciduous trees and shrubs, among which the pine and the cork tree predominate, the underwood consisting of the myrtle of various leaf, the arbutus, dwarf cypresses, etc.

The aspect of the country would be wild but for the number of small valleys and the patches on the brows of the mountains under cultivation, and the habitations of the peasants scattered over their surface. The views, during the ascent from the plains of Fréjus, of the sea and of the mountains of St. Tropez, are very lovely, and the effect of these and of the whole scenery was heightened by the clearness of the day and a bright sun on the 30th October.

The old Château de L'Esterel is now the post-house, and the station of the gendarmerie. There is near it a very fine grove of chestnut trees occasionally resorted to by wild boars, which, as well as wolves, inhabit the mountain forests, though not in great numbers.

From L'Esterel we pursued our course through mountains and a country of nearly the same aspect (though less wooded) to the Siagne, after crossing which we entered the plain of Laval, situated in the Gulf of Napoule. Here, not far from the present, and close to the old bed of the river, rises a small hill or mound, covered with pines and other evergreens, called the Mont St. Cassien, the site of an old chapel, and the wretched habitation of a soi-disant hermit, an old monk. He is a Belgian, formerly the inmate of a convent at Brussels, and derives a precarious subsistence from the weekly contributions of Cannes and its neighbourhood. The amount was somewhat improved during our residence at Cannes, especially as the old gentleman became our *caterer* for wild fowl and fresh eggs.

As you descend into the plain, the prospects of the Bay of Napoule, with the islands of Ste. Marguerite and St. Honorat on the right—at a few miles distance on the left, that of Grasse situated on the slope of high hills—and the approach to Cannes in the line of the road parallel to the sea, are very beautiful, and not a little agreeable and interesting to us who contemplated passing some months at Cannes.

VIII.

A Furnished House at Cannes—Country Servants—Buying Land and Building a Villa—Inhabitants of Cannes—Bastides and Campagnes—Olives and Orange Trees—Lopping Pine Trees.

Lord Brougham, who had passed a week or ten days at Cannes in January, 1835, had strongly recommended the climate to us, as preferable for winter residence to that of Hyères or Nice, or any other with which he was acquainted, and in his letter to me, which I received at Paris, he described the hotel (Pinchinat's) as one of the best in Europe. He might be right as to climate, although the winter of 1837-8 did not afford a favourable specimen, as indeed it probably would not elsewhere, but he had formed a very erroneous opinion of the hotel, which during a stay of twelve days we discovered to be one of the worst and the least accommodating we had been at.

Lord Brougham also referred me to his architect, M. de l'Arras, Directeur des Ponts et Chaussées, for information and assistance, and this gentleman justified in every respect this favourable mention of him.

As it was known that I was in search of a house for the winter, two were pointed out to me by M. Pinchinat; one, however, appeared too small and had neither stable nor remise; the other was somewhat further from Cannes on rising ground at a short distance from the road to Antibes. M. Pinchinat told me that the owner of the latter, M. Desmarêts, was willing to let it furnished for a year, or not less than six months. . . .

I found the house in great disorder—scaffolding in various parts, workmen employed in repairing and *decorating* the exterior—no access otherwise than through the kitchen, the house door having been removed, and the entrance coarsely boarded up—only one sitting-room with a fireplace, the dining-room (close to the kitchen) without one, and otherwise scarcely habitable, a gallery also without a fireplace or stove, and greatly out of repair, the bedrooms tolerable, but some without doors, others unpapered, all the floors brick, the little furniture of a *wretched* description, and much of it tumbling to pieces, the stable and coachhouse in a corresponding state, and occupied by as curious assortment of animals, and of the feathered tribe, as could well be collected, no spring water, the road and the ground quite out of order, and dirt and rubbish in all directions.

I promised an answer after consulting Lady Taylor, who saw the house two days after; and as the sitting-room was comfortable and roomy, and the bedrooms were good and had fireplaces, we agreed to hire it for six months; M. Desmarêts engaging that the scaffolding should be removed, the house

A furnished house at Cannes.

Cannes. cleared and cleaned, the entrance door replaced, the rooms papered, and such plain furniture put in as was indispensable.

He was also to supply us with linen, plate, and crockery. M. Desmarêts asked me 4000 francs for the six months, which, considering the state of the house, and that in which (notwithstanding every exertion) it must continue during our occupation of it, appeared to me very exorbitant, and we closed at 2400.

The rooms were papered, and we got into the house on the 12th, but we had not access by the front door for more than a month, and the putting it up was a work of four days; the scaffolding was kept up some time; the furniture came in *slow* and piecemeal; and we were obliged to put in several articles (especially carpets), to have the floor *frottéd* and windows repaired; and many essential articles which had been promised, such as a dining-table, and screens (very necessary in a house of which doors and windows closed imperfectly), were not supplied at all. The stable continued unfit for the reception of any horses requiring the least care, and the approach to the house from the main road and the contiguous ground was kept during more than two months in a state which was sometimes hardly practicable, nor was it finally much improved.

I am very ready to allow that M. Desmarêts was willing to do what he could, but he had miscalculated his time, nor had he made the best use of it. He had applied it chiefly to exterior decoration, to us a matter of indifference; and he had formed a very erroneous conception of our ideas of accommodation and comfort. . . . We found him an agreeable, well-informed man, though somewhat touchy. He is separated from his wife, who has large property, and very strange stories are told of the scenes which preceded the separation. He volunteered naming the subject to me, and said the fact was, "Madame vouloit porter les culottes. Je n'entendois pas que ce fut ainsi, et peut être que j'ai été trop vif, mais vous savez ce que sont les femmes quand elles se mettent ces folies dans la tête." I did not deny having heard the story, doubtless exaggerated, as is generally the case where there are two parties, but these things went in at one ear and out at the other. I had come here as a man of peace in search of amusement and rational occupation, and not to mix up in domestic feuds, nor did I wish to interfere in the affairs of others.

Country
servants
at Cannes.

Having got into a house, the next care was to form an establishment, and we hired a housemaid and a woman cook, and a manservant of all work. But we soon discovered this would not do, in spite of the ready assistance given by our English servants in the kitchen, etc.

The housemaid did tolerably for the country, though it required some time to make her understand that the rooms

were to be cleaned every day, and the sweepings removed at Cannes. once.

The cook, although willing to do her best, would have poisoned us very soon by her strange compounds, and it would puzzle even Messrs. Ude and Carême to find names for the productions of her gastronomy. We had hired these two for 200 francs for the whole period and board, if satisfied on trial. I therefore gave the poor cook 50 francs and discharged her.

We kept the man at 20 francs per month and board, and had to supply him with clothes. He was as unfit for a house servant as for a groom. Having to bring in the dinner and wait while our courier took his turn in the kitchen, he used to come in with his hat on. His language was chiefly provençal. His first exhibition in the stable was to put the crupper on the horse's head, but he was a willing and good-humoured fellow who amused us.

We sent Ford, our courier, to Nice to hire a manservant and a cook, in which he succeeded, with the aid of M. Ferdinand Laurent, the very obliging master of the hotel there, to our perfect satisfaction. The cook's wages were 80 francs per month, the other 50 francs per month and board, and they proved excellent servants. Ford also desired a horse-dealer to bring some horses on trial, and I purchased a very good hack for 500 francs. I had previously purchased a good safe pony for my daughter for 250 francs. For airings we hired post-horses.

In the purchase of supplies of every description we were abundantly cheated, but by degrees, with the kind assistance of Madame de l'Arras, we escaped paying double for many articles.

We had every reason to be satisfied with the climate (in spite of the unfavourable season), and this—the possibility of my being obliged to return to a warm climate, and the difficulty of finding a good and comfortable residence not less essential to invalids in winter than a good climate—led me to the determination of purchasing a piece of ground, and of building a suitable house near Cannes.

I had become well acquainted with M. de l'Arras, had ascertained that he bore the highest character, had inspected his accounts with Lord Brougham, had seen the work performed for a small portion of the estimate, and was satisfied from minute inquiry and conversation with him that I might employ him with safety, and that, independently of the main object, it would not prove an unprofitable investment; nor an unreasonable speculation, as houses are already in great request, and would (on the construction of the port, etc.) become yet more so; therefore there could be no doubt of mine being let, if I

Cannes. should not require it myself. Lord Brougham's, for instance, would have been let over and over again if it had been finished.

I therefore selected a spot near the sea, on the side of the Route Royale, between Cannes and the plains of Laval (about three-quarters of a mile from Cannes),¹ and purchased it of M. Bourniot, a respectable attorney, for 10,000 francs (£400), while the expenses of registering at 6 per cent. and drawing the act at 2 per cent. came to £32 more; and I subsequently purchased two adjoining parcels, one of the family of Isnard, for £240 (expenses £20 more), and the other of Prat, an old navigator, for £100; therefore £792 or, say, £800 for the land.

I probably paid for the whole about £200 more than the actual value, but I had chosen the site, and this was taken advantage of. I might have bought for the same sum some property off the road to Antibes of four times the extent, and offering a good return, but, although pretty and well sheltered, it was more difficult of access, and an inconvenient distance from Cannes, and the groundwork and enclosures would have been more expensive. It was also too near the Croisette marshy ground.

The plans and estimate of the house include all but papering. The rough estimate of enclosing the whole with a solid stone wall (one side excepted, where a deep brook forms the boundary) is £140; that of the stable and coachhouse, less than £200.

I have ascertained that, as a British subject, I am secure in the tenure of the property, and that I may dispose of it by will or otherwise, as I may think proper. There will be some immediate returns from the produce of olives, orange flowers, etc., sufficient to pay taxes, and other current expenses, and it is not unreasonable to calculate upon a rent of at least £200.

I gave to M. de l'Arras a general sketch of what I wanted, and desired that the cost of the house (complete in all but papering) might not exceed 40,000 francs (£1600); and as he naturally wished, for his credit, that the elevations should be

¹ In the days when this account was written (1838), Cannes was of course but a village of small area; and that land which Sir H. Taylor was then acquiring is now well within the limits of the present extensive and fashionable town. Lord Brougham's villa was the first house built by an Englishman at Cannes, while Sir Herbert's was the second. Lord Brougham may be said, from a British point of view, to have "discovered" Cannes, and he therefore was largely responsible for the celebrity which Cannes and the French Riviera in general has attained in recent years. Sir H. Taylor's house (Château St. George), with the land, was sold in 1846 by his executors for £3040, to Mr. Thomas Robinson Woolfield, who became a well-known resident at Cannes. Mr. Woolfield died in 1838, and the property now belongs to the Duchesse de la Rochefoucauld. A slight addition has been made to the house, while the grounds have been considerably extended on the east side. The gardens and plantations of Château St. George are now perhaps the finest and most picturesque of any in Cannes; but the house has changed its name.

architectural, and as I, as naturally, wished that the building Cannes. should do credit to my own country, I agreed to this, but prescribed the Greek Doric order, as the most simple and the least expensive in the details.

I have stated circumstances fairly, and very possibly many An may be disposed to blame me, and to say that I have acted im- apology prudently and inconsiderately; they may be right to a certain for build- extent, and if they view the thing merely as a speculation; but ing. this would not be reasonable, and I will afford to them a better ground of blame by allowing that I may have been led to this proceeding by a sudden change from a life of intense and un-interrupted application to one of comparative idleness, and that the want of sufficient occupation may have induced me to resort to this means, amongst others, of filling up my time; by allowing further that the desire of showing to the natives of Provence the difference between a well-managed and comfortable English house and their châteaux, has entered a little into the feeling with which I engaged in this project. I had learned that property purchased by foreigners in France is guaranteed to them in the event of war with France, and that rents may be received through agents. There would remain the risk of a Revolution, but I am persuaded that none, producing such effects as that which occurred in 1793, is to be apprehended, the general feeling of the country being against any attempts to reproduce convulsions; and that feeling is likely to last, and to gain strength, as it is individually selfish. I may, therefore, consider the property secured to my wife and child, and I have reason to believe that it will increase in value.

At any rate, I have made choice of a fine climate and a beautiful country. I cannot plead many other advantages. The state of society is such as I have described it, and I have stated also that in the lower orders the propensity to cheat one and to impose upon foreigners is as great, and possibly greater, here than I have found it elsewhere in France. But there are exceptions in all cases, and we have found some agreeable and worthy members of society, and some fair-dealing tradesmen.

I have already named M. and Mme. de l'Arras. To these I may add Count Rostand, an agreeable man, and an excellent amateur player on the violin; M. Front Michel, of Grasse, and some others who help to make up our musical parties; M. Vidal, a merchant and my banker; M. Bourniot the lawyer; and M. Blanchard, Directeur des Douanes.

Nor must I omit the mention of M. Pascal, the curé, a truly respectable and venerable man, eighty-four years old, and who has during sixty-one years officiated here. His conversation is cheerful, and his interest is alive to all passing events, to which

Cannes. he adds the knowledge and recollection of the past. I told him I would bring my little girl to receive his blessing, sensible as I was of the value of it from so good and respectable a man, although our professions of faith were not the same. He bowed, and when I did take her, with Miss Disbrowe, to see him (the ascent to his residence was too steep for Lady Taylor) I reminded him of it.

He at once, in the kindest manner, took her by the hand, and pronounced the blessing in *Latin*, with the usual forms, and then repeated it in French. I observed, however, that he used throughout the words, "La Providence." His nephew and niece were present, and seemed surprised. I had previously been struck with the almost exclusive use of the same words by some of the poorer natives, whom I had assisted, when wishing a blessing on me and my family.

The peasantry are a cheerful, light-hearted race, who when they meet you seldom fail to address you with a few good-humoured words and a smile, which, if it were not the general character of the people, might be mistaken for extraordinary familiarity—"Bonjour, Monsieur, Madame, ah, vous allez faire la promenade?" Their accent has much of the Italian in it; for instance, "Madamé," "promené," and the Provençal is a mixture of both languages. . . .

On Sundays and holidays in the evening, and on other days after work in the spring and summer, the young ones of all classes assemble on the green near the town and dance—the elder people sitting on the bank, the men smoking.

A large portion of the lower class are fishermen, but they do not go far out to sea, and in the best season the Genoese, who are more adventurous, encroach greatly on this branch of industry and trade; for anchovies and sardines abound on this coast, are cured, and are a branch of export.

Many of these fishermen are old seamen; several have been prisoners in England, and they do not complain of their treatment there.

Prat, of whom I purchased a small parcel of land, is a fine old fellow, eighty-two years old, and served seven years in the Navy, chiefly in India. He is highly respected in consequence of the meritorious manner in which he exerted himself at the early period of the Revolution in saving emigrant families, often at great personal risk. "C'étoit l'homme de confiance, et surtout des pauvres dames, et jamais il ne leur a manqué" was the expression used to me in describing him. He went out on pretence of fishing for oysters, and conveyed the emigrants to a place of safety. He is still a very powerful man, and once thrashed seven or eight Republicans who fell upon him. There is a *Fête d'anchoises* in the summer, when the fishing boats assemble on

the beach close in front of the ground I have purchased, where, Cannes. indeed, they generally land their nets.

The class of shopkeepers and artisans are less agreeable than the peasantry, and those of Cannes and Grasse may possibly partake of the character of the original Genoese and Jewish mixture; though, if any remark be made, they are very apt to say, "Les fripons et les Gens qui se méconduisent sont des étrangers, des importations du Piémont," just as we throw the blame of rows and outrage on the importations from Ireland; while, on the other hand, "Ceux qui ne sont pas du pays" (shopkeepers at least) claim the merit of being more honest than their neighbours. The rudest and most unmanageable people are the drivers of waggons, carts, and mules on the highway; and this is the case throughout France, nor do *pains and penalties* keep them in any order, or enforce anything like courtesy.

We draw our supplies of poultry from Nice. Game—chiefly the red-legged partridge—is brought to us plentifully from Grasse, etc. Beef is tolerable, veal very scarce, mutton excellent, a small black sheep from the mountains or from Dauphiné something like the Welsh, but shorter legged. Pasturage being scarce, the shepherds drive them, mixed with goats, along the high-road to pick the grass on the banks or on the adjoining rocks. One of them whom I met told me that he was taking his flock "Une petite promenadé pour leur faire boire l'eau de la mer; cela leur donne de l'appétit."

Our French cook is a good *artiste* and highly approved by the natives who occasionally honour us with their company at dinner. They themselves do not give dinners (excepting Count Rostand occasionally), and hospitality is a virtue which does not appear to be much *à l'ordre du jour* here, nor do they otherwise meet much at each other's houses.

There is hardly any *propriété*, however small, without a building of some sort; the smaller, little better than hovels, are called *Bastides*; the larger are dignified with the name of *Campagnes*, and in all, the principal attention is paid to *outward* appearance and decoration, which in some instances assume all the colours of the rainbow.

There are few fairly well-to-do inhabitants of Cannes who have not a *campagne* of some sort, and the approach to them by a path (hardly ever a carriage road) often presents towards the road a fine gate with stone piers or architectural columns, although there may not be a fence on either side of it. The building, which is almost always substantial, and often extensive, is ill-arranged and distributed; seldom contains accommodation for the owner; or a room which he can inhabit, or even pig in with his family. The chief part of the building is used for stores,

and is a receptacle for horses and mules ; the entrance is often obstructed by a well, a reservoir for rain-water, and a dung heap. Pig-styes and poultry boxes are equally in the way. The whole is a mass of confusion and dirt, and the interior apartments, if so they can be called, are equally dirty and uncomfortable.

Nothing can be more deceptive than the distant prospect of these *campagnes* which appear to stud the country with pretty villas and cottages ; nor have I anywhere seen so great a waste of stone and mortar, or so extraordinary a misapplication of outward decoration. The gardens are in the same style, and no advantage is taken of the resources which nature so profusely affords.

These delightful buildings are occupied by the *Rentier* (a sort of working bailiff or farmer), who is at the expense of the cultivation (except the trenching and planting of new ground) and in general has an equal share of the returns of every description. But he has the credit of taking more than an equal share, and is therefore called *Rend-tiers*.

Vines, although the quality of the soil greatly favours their cultivation, do not appear to offer a return adequate to the labour and care which they, and the manufactory of wine, require. This may be attributed chiefly to the commercial restrictions on their export. But the cultivation of the olive and the orange tree, when soil and situation admit of it, are the great objects of attention, and offer the best average return. Indeed the value of property is often estimated by the number of olive and orange trees in bearing. Both require to be sheltered from high winds.

The orange trees are chiefly of the bitter sort, the objects being the flower and the leaf, which are equally used for making the *Eau de fleur orange*, so largely used in France by confectioners, apothecaries, and others, and introduced in all cakes, tisanes, drogues, etc. The *tisane de fleur orange* appears indeed to be the sovereign specific against all disorders, and it may have the merit of being more harmless than calomel, so copiously administered in England. I will leave this point to be decided by the faculty of the respective countries, as, happily, I cannot speak from experience of either. The bitter orange tree is more hardy than the sweet one ; the leaf is stronger for the purpose of distilling, and it produces the flower twice a year. The fruit is not valued here, and is usually picked and thrown away before it ripens, in order to strengthen the tree, and to hasten the growth of the flower.

The severest labour here appears to be that of the miners, and the blasting of rocks is not always free from danger. The close trimming of the pines is also attended with risk and occasional falls, although those employed climb like cats to the

top of the highest trees, the branches of which they cut with billhooks.

I observed in a pine-wood off the road to Antibes, a slight tree swinging backwards and forwards while there was no wind to agitate it, and upon nearer approach ascertained that the movement was produced by a man nearly at the top of it. It was continued until it brought him within convenient distance of another slight tree to which he flung himself.

IX.

The Aurelian Way—The Roman Bridge at Cannes—The Manufacture of Roman Bricks in the Middle Ages—Cannes in 1837-8—Selfishness and want of Union in Society.

It has been observed that the name more applicable to the topography of the Département du Var would have been *d'Argens*, inasmuch as this river almost traverses it, and divides it into nearly equal parts while the Var merely separates it from Piémont. Before the Revolution the passage of the Var from France to Piémont was by a ford, which, when the river was swollen, was dangerous. At present there is near the village of St. Laurent a wooden bridge of considerable length, the half of which is kept up by France and the other half by Piémont. . . .

I will not attempt to give an account of the geology and mineralogy (of the Département), which I do not pretend to understand, but which to the scientific would offer a wide field, and which I will leave to Mr. Murchison,¹ if he should be tempted to visit these regions. I may, however, observe that the mountainous and hilly parts are almost invariably rocky. The rock is mostly granitous and calcareous. . . . There are also pudding stones in some parts, marble of various colours, quartz, alabaster, and porphyry, grey and red. . . . The extraction of these marbles appears to have been neglected until lately, notwithstanding the evidence of quarries opened by the Romans in various quarters.

Provence abounds in proofs of Roman occupation, and of their attention to whatever was calculated to secure the possession of their valuable conquests.

Amongst these, there was perhaps no work of greater magnitude and importance, with a view either to military objects or to civilization, than the Aurelian Way, and yet there is not one which has been less the object of notice in works of history, geography, topography, or descriptive travel.

¹ The eminent geologist, afterwards known as Sir Roderick Murchison.

The
Aurelian
Way.¹

It is indeed often cursorily mentioned in some publication, but its direction and ramifications have not, as far as I can ascertain, been accurately traced, nor even is there any positive record of its first establishment, or of the time employed in the execution and completion of so great a work.¹

I have endeavoured by local inquiry, and by collecting detached information from various works to trace it through a great part of Provence, but the materials are imperfect, and altogether unconnected.

The *Via Aurelia*, from its great extent and importance, and the numerous provinces which it traversed, was probably in existence long before the reign of the Emperor Aurelian, whose name it bore throughout its length, and still bears wherever it can be traced. He began his reign in 270 A.D., and had reigned little more than five years when he was murdered, and however active and enterprising he appears to have been, his attention was much engaged by distant wars of great magnitude.

It may be presumed, therefore, that he merely *repaired*, improved, and perhaps extended the immense work which may have been previously undertaken (for the Aurelian Way is stated to have extended from the Gates of Rome to the most remote parts of Spain); and this conjecture derives weight from the custom which prevailed, more or less, of substituting the name of the *Restorer* of public works for that of the original author of them, as, for instance, the *Via Appia*, also called the *Via Trajana* in consequence of the repairs and improvements made in it by the Emperor Trajan.

The line of the Aurelian Way through France appears often to be lost, and to reappear at some distant point, without notice of the intermediate stations, as at Lunel (between Nîmes and Montpellier), where there are ruins of a Roman bridge, said to have formed part of it.

The Emperor Aurelian is known to have made the chief repairs to the walls and Gates of Rome, and to have extended the former, altered the situation of the latter, and introduced new ones.

The Porta St. Pietro was called Porta Cornelia and Porta Aurelia. The *Via Aurelia* went out of it, as did the *Via Vitellia*. The *Via Aurelia* passed by Pisa and Genoa, and probably took from thence the line of the coast, as it has (in the Département du Var), been traced to Antibes, where vestiges of it were recently discovered in repairing the foundations of a house. Its direction must thence have been below the

¹ I have retained Taylor's remarks on the course of the Aurelian Way as guide-books do not seem to deal with it, and because in these days so much interest attaches to the districts along the Riviera and in the Provence.

mountains, nearly parallel with the sea, to within a short distance of Cannes, above which it appears to have been carried, judging from the very perfect remains of a bridge of Roman construction across a deep ravine, or bed of a torrent, distant about half a mile from the town and behind it. Thence it must have been taken through the hills, as the ground might favour, nearly into the line of the present Route Royale, until it reached the Siagne, probably below the Mont St. Cassien, which is said to have been raised or occupied for military purposes by the Romans, and on one side of which masonry may still be traced which is considered Roman. It is fair to presume from its position on the banks of the old river (its course has been changed within these thirty years) that this work defended the passage of the river and the road, many portions of the ground on each side (the plain of Laval) being still marshy, while the sea was on its flank, as it might be occupied with a view to the approach of an enemy from the French or the Italian side. There is a ridge on the opposite side of the road which runs for a short distance above the course of the river, and which would probably also be occupied, the whole forming a good position for troops before the invention of cannon, but now commanded by higher ground. Near this, and on the plain of Laval, between it and the mouth of the Siagne, the Romans are said to have defeated the Oxybians, ancient inhabitants of the district—their capital being Oxybia, the present Cannes.

The plain of Laval was also the scene of the contest between the armies of Otho and Vitellius, and the defeat of the latter: and Antiquarians ascribe the name of Mont Cassien to Cassius, one of Vitellius's lieutenants who is supposed to have raised or fortified the Mount, while the more zealous Catholics claim it for one of their numerous saints.

The best way is to let these worthies share the honour, nor would it be the first instance of a monk's cowl and habit replacing the helmet and cuirass.

A little further, on the road to l'Esterel and to La Napoule, there are still to be seen some Roman boundary stones which were probably near the *Via Aurelia*. From thence the *Way* has been traced behind La Napoule through the mountains, and thence by the seashore and along it to Fréjus by the foot of l'Esterel, there being remains of it near the creek of Agay between La Napoule and Fréjus.

From Fréjus it is ascertained to have taken the direction of Riez by Amputan, three leagues from Draguignan. (Riez is on the little river Colostre; its ancient name was *Regium*.) Hence it has been traced to the hamlet of l'Antier—the site of the ancient Antea—and to have traversed the valley below Draguignan, which is watered by the Naturbie.

It appears also to have been traced at Muy, and onwards to the ruins of a bridge across the Argens by Vidauban, then taking a direction to the right to the ruins of another bridge of Roman construction on the Argens—thence across the plain of Tirabeau, and by Lorgues to the bridge of Ste. Marie, partly of Roman construction, continuing to Cabasse and Brignolles. It is traced further near Tourves and below Rougiers—thence between two hills near Pourcieux, a village in the district of St. Maximin, to Aix; thence by Salon and St. Remy to Arles; from Arles by Narbonne into Spain; but I cannot trace with any degree of certainty the line which it took, except, as I before said, a point at Lunel. It will appear that between Muy and Cabasse the Aurelian Way crossed the Argens not less than three times by bridges; and in general it is fair to assume that the line of this road, or of direct communication from it, may be indicated by the remains of Roman stations established and occupied with a view to the security of their positions in the country, and, therefore, of course with reference to that of the principal line of communication. None of these stations are, indeed, found very much out of the line, but it is well known that the Romans never spared labour in any work of public utility, and that the construction of roads was an object to which their policy was especially directed. Nor did they scruple to employ the inhabitants of the country in works intended to perpetuate their subjection. The whole of Provence offers proof of it, and of the precaution they took to secure their flanks and rear against insult, by the establishment of military stations.

Roman masonry is found on their stations near the line of the Aurelian Way, and in tunnels, baths, and foundation walls, in aqueducts and bridges. The bridge at Cannes, for instance, is of a construction which could not be mistaken, even if it were not established as a Roman work by a medal in bronze which M. de l'Arras found in examining the foundation of one of the arches, and which he gave me. It would appear, indeed, from its situation to be a *foundation* medal. It is of large size, beautifully executed, and inscribed, "*Io Paulus Lomatius.*" On the reverse a groupe of Mercury between two female figures—supposed to represent agriculture and commerce—and the inscription, "*Ultriusque.*" The head is in excellent preservation. The groupe has suffered, probably from its position on the masonry being more exposed to injury by water. The work is worthy of the Augustan age, and yet I do not think that Jovius or Jovianus (for which I presume *Io* to be the abbreviation) was a name common to the Romans before the introduction of Christianity. There is, as usual, no date, nor anything to establish who Lomatius was, though probably a Pro-Consul.

The
Roman
bridge at
Cannes.

M. de l'Arras is the only person at Cannes who appeared

to take the least interest in these matters, and who has shown any inclination to assist me in my researches. I found many who had resided all their lives in Cannes, who had never visited this beautiful little bridge, although within ten minutes' walk of their houses. It is a little difficult of access, but this did not prevent my little girl and me from discovering it on the second day of our arrival. Some even, though otherwise intelligent persons, were ignorant of its existence, and yet the bridge is still practicable for carts and mules, and is daily crossed by the peasantry.

It is reasonable to suppose that the mechanical process used by the Romans in the manufacture of bricks and cement was adopted by their successors, that many of their families may long have continued as settlers in the country, and have long been employed as artisans and labourers; and however different the character of the works, the same description of materials may have been used in after constructions. Hence the difficulty of drawing the exact line, in many instances, where history does not offer the positive solution, especially as it must be sought in records which are often confused and uncertain. Hence also the inclination to ascribe to the Romans what cannot be clearly traced to those who successively destroyed and reconstructed what has again become ruins. I have examined, with practical men, the masonry and cement of even much later periods (the sixteenth and eighteenth centuries) at Ste. Marguerite, for instance, in the ruins of Spanish works, and have found both approaching more to the quality of Roman work than to those of more modern construction.

Roman
bricks.

As connected in some degree with this subject, I may mention that having, just before I left England, called upon the Duke of Wellington at Walmer Castle, and walked on the beach before it with him, he pointed out to me fragments of old brick and tile of various shape and size, and with which it is thickly strewed, as are other parts of our coast, and observed that they were Roman, and that the accumulation of them on our shores was a curious circumstance. Recollecting this when walking on the beach here at Cannes, I searched for fragments of the same description, but found only one or two very small bits which, from the closeness of the grain, appeared Roman.

I mentioned this to the old curé and others, who assured me that they had never observed any such fragments on this beach.

Why they should be strewed on the coasts of a country in which there were few Roman constructions, and should not be found on the coasts of districts where these constructions were so abundant, and to which they might be carried by torrents and alluvial soil, I must leave to naturalists and geographers to determine. I have not, since my attention was called to the

subject, had any opportunity of ascertaining whether what I have noticed here applied to any other parts of the Mediterranean or the Adriatic. . . .

Cannes
in 1837-8.

With the exception of the Rue du Port, which is open to the sea, Cannes is wretchedly built. The streets are crooked, narrow, dirty, and ill-paved, the shops without any appearance, and the houses divested of any regard for comfort.

Even in the Rue du Port there are few good houses, and only one of respectable appearance, viz. Count Rostand's, but many new ones are in process of construction on the east side towards Antibes. Two of these are hotels, and will be large and handsome buildings of the sort.

But in their anxiety to obtain convenient sites, the inhabitants seem disposed to sacrifice one of the chief *agrément*s and resources of the place—a *promenade* between the actual sea and the Rue du Port in which there are trees—and these are better than none, although most of them are stunted, or disfigured by close clipping. Beyond, there is the beach on which the trading vessels land their cargoes. . . .

. . . The construction of a port had long been a desideratum of the inhabitants of Cannes and of Grasse. . . . When Lord Brougham was here in 1835 he was requested to use his supposed influence with the French Government, and the inhabitants of Cannes give his Lordship the credit of having done so with some effect, as the authority for the execution of the work shortly followed.

M. Rey, joint Directeur des Ponts et Chaussées here, a very intelligent man, but not of much practical experience, was entrusted with the superintendence of the work. His calculations of the expense are low, and although his estimate has acquired for him great popularity with those who are to provide the means, it is considered impossible for any contractor to execute the work without considerable loss.

Towards the end of January of the present year, 1838, M. Sequin, the contractor for this work, arrived at Cannes, and soon after called on me. He is one of several brothers all engaged in important public works in France and elsewhere. One brother has built two bridges across the Arno at Florence.¹ He himself has contracted to build an iron bridge for foot passengers across the Thames in London, and, since his arrival here, has been applied to, to build one at Nice. He expects to lose by his contract here, but the means of his house are large, and he is anxious to add the construction of a maritime port to his other works. . . .

Be this as it may, the prospect of this port is the subject of

¹ Evidently the two iron bridges still there—the one beyond the Ponte alle Grazie, the other opposite the Cascine. They were constructed in 1836.

great expectation and excitement here. Labourers are coming in from all quarters; the population is increasing; property is rising in value, and the natives are building new houses and magasins; but everything is done on selfish principle; there does not appear to be with it any mixture of public spirit. This and taste are very scarce ingredients in the composition of the *Cannites*; and they cannot be persuaded that they are shortsighted, and neglecting their own interests in not taking this opportunity of improving the appearance of the place in the distribution and construction of their new buildings. This, with the advantage of situation (on the direct road from Paris to Italy) and climate and surrounding scenery, would very soon make it a point of attraction to strangers whom they are so anxious to draw to it, and who would greatly add to their facilities of acquiring wealth by fair dealing or by cheating.

To affect this they should build good houses, should place them in airy situations with open prospects, instead of crowding one house upon the other, and blocking them up.

They should build baths, or at least establish bathing machines. At present there is nothing of the sort, and the *ladies* here, and those who come from Grasse in the summer to bathe on the open beach, which is beautifully smooth and tideless, do so by *moonlight*, to avoid the exposure of their sweet persons, perhaps forgetting that the moon in this country may be a tell-tale also. When I have taken the liberty of saying all this, they answer, "C'est qu'on ne pense pas à ces choses dans ce pays, ce n'est pas la mode du pays." And if I reply, "Mais vous y trouveriez votre profit," they say, "Ah!"

The fact, as before said, is they are a most selfish set—every one for himself—God for us all; and there is no union in society.

X.

Lord Brougham at Cannes—Buonaparte's Landing from Elba in 1815—Joachim Murat—Ste. Marguerite—St. Honorat—La Napoule.

Lord Brougham came to Cannes, as before mentioned, in January, 1835. After a few days' stay at Pinchinat's he called on M. de l'Arras, and told him he was about purchasing a small parcel of ground, that he intended to build a residence upon it, and had been addressed to him, M. de l'Arras, as the fittest person to employ as the architect. He would give him a general sketch of what was required, and he might execute the building during his absence. The first proposal was for a

much more extensive edifice, but Lord B. afterwards restricted him to 35,000 francs without furniture, and the elevation and ground plan were settled accordingly upon rough sketches made by his Lordship which M. de l'Arras showed me, viz. a frontage of seven windows, with a Grecian porch and columns in the centre advanced on a terrace, and a square tower at each of the four angles of the building, which were afterwards reduced to two on the south front. Lord B. bargained for a circular staircase of double flight, and he opened a credit for M. de l'Arras for 35,000 francs, and having completed the act for the purchase, he left Cannes.

The land is a narrow slip on the north side of the Route Royale running up to the summit of a rocky hill partly covered with pines, at the foot of which is the site of the house.

On the south side of the road it extends to the sea. The land cost 14,600 francs, including a bill for 1100 francs for registering and framing the act, etc.

The house did not appear to me well planned. There are four rooms on a floor (three floors), none of large dimensions, and two towers eight feet square (interior room) all the way up, too small to serve as rooms. One of the rooms on the ground floor, opening into the dining-room and to the staircase, is to be the kitchen. No other offices except bedrooms for servants on the upper floor. The staircase is very pretty, but cuts the back part of the house into two—a vestibule or entrance hall nine feet wide. No stables or coachhouse. The solid masonry of the towers would have sufficed for four good rooms and for all the indispensable offices.

M. de l'Arras ran up the brickwork and roofed the house with all the beams and cross timbers, etc., and prepared some of the stonework, when, after he had expended about 13,000 francs, Lord Brougham instructed him to suspend the work and his drafts until further orders. So the building has continued in *frame*, without doors or windows, from that period to this—of course, suffering from weather. I wrote to Lord B. to represent this, as M. de l'Arras had before done, and he authorized the latter to put in doors and sashes, but not to proceed further until he could come and give his personal directions.

The house is close upon the rock, much of which must be extracted and removed to open a sufficient area behind it, although the materials for building have already been taken from it. I therefore did not scruple to apply to Lord B. for leave to extract the stone I required from this bed of rock, and he readily agreed.

I cannot understand upon what principle of economy Lord B. has left the work in so unfinished a state. Had it been completed when I arrived, I would have hired it, and in spite of all its deficiencies, it would have answered my purpose better

to have given him £100 for the six months than to M. Desmarêts ^{Cannes.} for his château. Others would have stopped here on the way to Nice, had they found his house finished.

Lord Brougham's séjour at Cannes appears to have created a great sensation, and I owed a good deal of the favourable reception I experienced here to its being known that this *illustre compatriote* had advised me to come here. Many fancied him all-powerful in England, that he had been, or even now was, at the head of the Government. Latterly, when they found the building of his château wholly suspended, they began to remark, "Qu'il doit pourtant être un peu inconséquent."

Having thus noticed Lord Brougham's appearance in Cannes, and the sensation it created, I must devote a few remarks to that of another great man, which did not occasion less, though it was of a different kind.

Buonaparte landed in the Gulf of Jouan on the 1st of ^{Napoleon} March, 1815, in the afternoon, attended by Generals Bertrand, ^{Buona-} Cambonne, Drouet, and other officers, and about 1500 men, ^{parte.} viz. 900 of the Old Guard, 300 Poles, and 300 of various corps. He came on shore last, and his appearance was quite unexpected. The first steps taken were to secure all persons who showed no inclination to join him, and who might have given information before he proceeded further, and this I learnt from one of them. The next was to detach an officer and twenty-five men to Antibes to induce the garrison to join him, and to hold that place in his name, but the Commandant was absent, and the next in authority confined the detachment, and refused to transfer his allegiance, although the garrison did so after he reached Paris. Buonaparte moved from the landing-place to the high-road, a short way above it (where there is actually a public house called "Le Débarquement de l'Empereur ou l'on mange et boit à son honneur"), and thence to Cannes; but he did not enter the town. He stopped where the road turns to Grasse, and there he continued until five in the morning, probably waiting for information from Grasse.

During this period, the troops he brought with him—remarkably fine men of soldier-like appearance—formed three sides of a square, in which he and his officers stood, the fourth side being open and accessible to the people of the town and country who crowded to see him from curiosity rather than from any interest in his undertaking. Some of these told me that the weather was cold, and that they kept their hats and cloaks on, and were amused at seeing the Prince of Monaco, whom Buonaparte had summoned from the neighbourhood, standing in the square *en grand costume*, silk stockings, *chapeau bras*, bowing and shivering. At length Buonaparte dismissed him with a

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soil chiefly covered with pines planted by Mons. Talon, who was a prisoner there during many years (although to a certain extent at large) having by some indiscreet language incurred the displeasure of Buonaparte. Rides and walks have been cut through this forest of pines in various directions. The fort, or rather the castle¹ within it, was long used as a State prison, and the island owes its celebrity to the confinement in that prison of the *Masque de Fer*, so long the object of conjecture and various reports, not one of which has yet been traced to any source sufficiently authentic. . . .

I went to the island on the 16th January, 1838, with M. de l'Arras, and was very civilly received by Captain Vial, the Commandant (brother of the General). . . . The prison rooms had lately been repaired, and much of the old appearance, such as gilding, tattered curtains, etc., which gave interest to the room, had been obliterated or removed. The seven or eight rooms allotted to State prisoners are on the ground floor, and open out of a corridor. . . . I was shown a door which had been nearly demolished by English travellers who had torn or cut chips from it, fancying it to be that of the *Masque de Fer's* room, whereas it was one of another room which was usually shown to them as *his*, in order to preserve the latter from demolition.

The wood planted by M. Talon is extensive and the pines are thriving, but they are thinned without care, the stumps left too much above the ground, and the brushwood is cut without any regard to appearance. This wood might be stocked with hares and rabbits and even pheasants, but there are not any, and the Commandant objected that they would be destroyed by *snakes* of large size, which abound in the island, and by rats, also very numerous. A more solid objection is the consequent attraction to innumerable chasseurs and poachers. Any man may take out a *port d'armes*, for which he pays 15 francs, and those who will risk detention by a gendarme sport without paying for any licence. All more or less carry guns, and these are winked at. Everything is *game*, from the wild boar to the tom-tit, and I never anywhere noticed so great a scarcity of small birds. A sparrow is hardly ever seen. Magpies and crows alone escape, as not being good eating. An olive may now and then protect a robin, sparrow, or blackbird, as the man who fires into *that* tree and thereby injures the olives with shot is considered *un mauvais Chasseur*. Woodcock and quail are found in the Lerin islands at the seasons of passage.

St.

Honorat.

The channel which divides the islands of Ste. Marguerite and St. Honorat does not exceed half a mile. St. Honorat was during centuries the site of one of the oldest and most celebrated

¹ The old residence of M. de Ste. Marguerite, valet de Chambre to Louis XIII., who gave him the island from which he took his name.

monasteries of France, founded by St. Honorat about the year 410. He was brought to the district by his patron the Archbishop of Arles, and in 416 succeeded to that see. Les îles
des
Lerins.

I found in old records that he cleared the island of serpents which infested it. They appear to have returned, for I heard here, as at Ste. Marguerite, that they abound and are of large size, but they kept out of my sight.

The Abbaye became the receptacle of monks from all quarters, and the residence of many distinguished for their piety and learning.¹ . . .

During the Revolution the island was sold as a national domain, and became the property of Madame Alzay de St. Val de Roquefort, whose heirs sold it for 35,000 francs to M. Sicard of Vallouris (residing at Cannes), who has built a small house there and made enclosures, partly with materials from the ruins of the Abbaye and castle.

I visited the ruins of the monastery also on the 16th January, accompanied by M. de l'Arras and my servant, Ford; and ruins I found them in every sense of the word.

The castle appears to have been of considerable strength for the period of its construction. It is now in a state which renders the close inspection of it an operation of some danger.² . . .

The famous old (miraculous) well has been repaired, but modernized. The water of the spring rises considerably below the depth of the sea, and is excellent. Its introduction is, to this day, considered the miraculous work of St. Honorat.

Latterly some of the abbots of St. Honorat were bishops of Grasse, and on the suppression of the monastery, the last Abbot, Mons. de Prunières, retired without any provision being made for him, to the neighbourhood of Grasse, where his existence was protracted, until within these five or six years, in misery, as he was supported by the scanty contributions of some charitable neighbours, and in obscurity in every sense of the word, blindness being, towards the closing years of his life, added to want.

The neglect which he experienced from the local authorities and the Government during so long a period does not redound to the credit of either.

The present possessor of the island is bringing the land into a very good state of cultivation, and seems to pay more attention to that than to the preservation of the antiquities,

¹ Taylor also gives details of the mediæval history of the Abbaye, and mentions the building of a fort and tower as a protection against the raids of Saracens and pirates.

² My companions and I gained access to the interior by walking over two *very* narrow boards laid across a broken arch, the interval being 16 or 18 feet with a fall from it to the room below of at least 20 feet, and I would not recommend the passage to any one subject to giddiness.—H. T.

which indeed he does not pretend to understand or care about. The labourers in charge told me that this little island had been stocked with rabbits, but that the snakes had destroyed them.

XI.

Extract of a Letter to Lord Ponsonby—Laying the Foundation Stone of Château St. George—Departure for Italy on April 5th, 1838.

The Prospects of continued Peace in France.

SIR H. TAYLOR to LORD PONSONBY.¹

Cannes. March 12th, 1838.

. . . I had not heard of the Emperor Nicholas's speech to the Duke of Saxe Weimar which you mention, but I do not believe it was required to add to the conviction which seems to prevail throughout France of his hostility to Louis Philippe and his people; and even if the Sovereign had not become more popular, the people would ill brook any indignity offered to him by a foreigner. The Emperor will therefore not succeed by these imprudent speeches in injuring the object of his dislike; and the bad taste of them is striking!

I have no correspondents in Paris, but I converse occasionally with those who have, or who come from thence; and judging from their reports, and from the course of public affairs, I should feel inclined to doubt the correctness of the information which has reached you that things look ill there. On the contrary, I believe that the consolidation of Royal Authority, such as it is, and the security against Revolution, are daily advancing. The elections indeed would seem to have become more popular and more democratic, and this may result in great measure from the Revolution of 1830, and the changes introduced into the Elective, and above all, in the municipal regulations. The latter especially have introduced . . . men of very inferior classes, but although a large portion of those returned for the Chamber of Deputies have arisen from the same classes, they have acquired property and a stake in the country, and they in their turn dread to lose by Revolution that which they have gained by Revolution, and thus from Destructives they have become Conservatives.

Again the great mass of the French people, as I have before observed to you, become essentially agricultural and commercial,

¹ Viscount Ponsonby—Ambassador at Constantinople from 1832 to March, 1837.

and dread the thought of being withdrawn from pursuits and speculations which produce a profit. To these may be added an immense number of civil employés, individuals enjoying a retired allowance, and all these would risk the loss of their provision by a Revolution, while a war would, by the establishment of Conscriptions and war contributions, greatly reduce their means. All these are selfish considerations, but the present state of society of France appears to rest almost entirely upon selfish principles, and to these I also ascribe the desire which prevails to keep on good terms with England, for I doubt there being otherwise any diminution of jealousy and prejudice, however evident it must be that our feelings towards France and the French have become much more liberal.

That the French should not share our inclination to reciprocate in trade does not surprise me when I see how much the extension of commercial privileges and facilities is influenced within the country by local interests and by established monopolies. The system is a mistaken one, as the general welfare is sacrificed to partial prosperity.

The military profession has ceased to be popular in France, although the various branches of it are well organized and effective. There seems, however, a sort of separation between the military and other branches of society, and an unwillingness to associate which are very striking.

Nor is the war in Africa popular. It indeed excites French vanity, and the injustice of the aggression on portions of the Turkish dominions does not occur, or, if it does, is treated with indifference; but the generality seem to doubt the policy or the eventual advantage of it, and they dwell on its actual cost.

I am sometimes asked what our feeling is on the subject. I reply that we seem to treat it with great indifference; with more perhaps than—as the friend and ally of the Porte—we ought, but that may possibly arise from a conviction that France cannot form any permanent establishment in that quarter which can injure *us*. The contingency of war we are anxious to avoid, and if such be their feeling also, they should be cautious of provoking it by extending their aggressions to Tunis, etc. The reply sometimes is, "But we do not interfere with your conquests in India." I answer, "C'est chercher le parallèle bien loin," and we have ceased to clash in that quarter.

Another circumstance which, in my humble opinion, goes far to lessen the apprehension of Revolution is the diminished or diminishing influence of the Press on the opinions and feelings of the mass here and elsewhere. It has, indeed, not ceased to be mischievous and licentious, nor less inclined to be the source and engine of agitation; but the poison has been so often administered that it does not exist in the same degree as

heretofore ; added to which, editors, journalists, and others have lately taken to quarrel with and to attack each other's opinions, and have thus unwittingly divided the attention of the readers from the original objects of their animadversion and calumny. . . .

H. TAYLOR.

April,
1838.

I had intended making a few excursions from Cannes towards the end of March, but I hurt my leg, and this, with an attack of erysipelas, disabled me completely during the remainder of our stay.

I was unable to assist at laying the first stone of my château.¹ The ceremony was performed on the 3rd of April by my daughter in the presence of the Mayor and others. The Mayor made a speech, and a *procès verbal* was deposited under the stone, which was signed by all the principal inhabitants. Money and wine were distributed to the workmen, and a dinner given to the contractors and master artisans.

The contract had been offered to three principal builders, to whom the architect's estimate was opened in great detail. Messrs. Loziers, having offered to take it at 2% below the estimate, obtained the contract, the gross sum being £1900, nearly £300 more than that originally contemplated, owing to the extraordinary expense of wooden floors and sash windows, and my fancy to have the columns of hewn stone in one piece. It also included a *Basse Cour* not in the original estimate. I afterwards added a metre to the depth of the building to increase the width of the dining-room and some of the bedrooms—and thus raised the total cost, exclusive of papering, to £2000.²

The good old curé paid us a long visit some weeks before we left Cannes, and called again to take leave of us. He walked each time from his residence on the Castle Hill in spite of his eighty-four years, but Lady Taylor took him back again in the carriage. He is an agreeable, cheerful old man—rises at six, and is always occupied.

We left Cannes on the 5th April,³ and passed through

¹ It was named Château St. George.

² Cost of land, £800 ; boundary wall, £140 ; stable, coachhouse, etc., £200 ; house, £2000.

³ Sir Herbert had to travel, however, in a bed-carriage. "It was impossible," says Lady Taylor in her diary, "for Sir Herbert to pass five months in one place without being truly beloved and respected. The poor were loud in their lamentations at his departure ; indeed, they would have been very ungrateful had it been otherwise. He became acquainted with them, and relieved them when it was in his power ; and he spoke to them in a manner to which they had probably been little accustomed.

"Even the post-boys, when they had driven us to Antibes, the first stage

Antibes on our way to Nice, where we were detained eleven days, and also for some period at Genoa; travelling having produced a return of inflammation in my leg.

Towards the end of April Lord Brougham arrived at Cannes accompanied by Colonel Caradoc and Sir A. Montgomery, and gave instructions to M. de l'Arras to finish and furnish his château. . . .

XII.

Pisa—Florence—Bologna—Piacenza—Milan—Cadenabbia.

On the 30th April we continued our journey to Florence without any further mishap or interruption, passing a night at Pisa—revisiting the Duomo, Baptistry, and Campo Santo, which appeared to be well kept up.

Pisa looked dull and very deficient in population, a great number of houses empty, and the grass growing in the streets—more beggars than I had seen anywhere, and very importunate. Indeed, they abounded on the road to Florence, though to much less extent *in* Florence, the blind being alone *privileged*—but blindness is very prevalent.

We passed the month of May at Florence, being lodged at the Hotel della Gran Bretagna on the Arno. I found it in many respects very much improved; the streets cleaner; the number and appearance of the shops strikingly better, as well as the dress of the population; better equipages and far more of them; more appearance of trade; the markets well supplied; and the police good and quiet. Greater encouragement is given to the arts by the Grand Duke and others, though these are chiefly foreigners.

There were several sculptors, Bartolini,¹ Costelli, and Pozzi, who had ample employment; some painters of merit, especially Chiampanelli, who is employed in painting a series of scenes from the "Promessi Sposi" in fresco for the Grand Duke. Bartolini was executing some large works for Prince Demidoff, a Russian, who had purchased a palace in Florence, and a villa in the neighbourhood, which latter he had converted into a silk manufactory on a large scale.

The Gallery² and the collection in the Pitti Palace had

from Cannes, asked to shake hands with him, and presented him with a few lines which they had written on the occasion."

¹ Lorenzo Bartolini, who afterwards erected the monument to Prince Demidoff on the south side of the Arno.

² Now known as the Uffizi.

Florence. been much augmented, and the arrangement in part improved; the Tribuna, however, remained much as it was. Great attention had been paid to the preservation of the beautiful works of art they contain, and after a lapse of nearly fifty years I revisited them with extreme interest.

The collection of pictures at the Academia (a series of the Florentine and other early schools) and of Casts appeared to me new, and it is creditable to the Grand Duke's patronage of the arts. I observe with regret that Andrea del Sarto's celebrated fresco of the *Madonna del Sacco* at the Annunziata Church has suffered greatly, and is partly effaced. In the Guadagni Palace there are two beautiful landscapes by Salvator Rosa which appear to be little known.

In the Corsini Palace, where there are a good many pictures, there is a portrait, of no great value, of the *Family Saint*¹; its pendant is that of Calvin by Holbein. I noticed this to the Custode as a strange association in the house of a Roman Catholic. He denied the fact, pleading that the *door* intervened; to which I observed, that at any rate it did not exclude the heretic from the company of the Saint.

There is also an original sketch by Michael Angelo for his "Last Judgment," and I remarked, what had never before struck me, that with the exception of one or two female figures, and these *in transitu* to Paradise, he had not placed one woman in hell or Purgatory, from which I naturally concluded that he must have been a great admirer of the fair sex.

Besides the frequent passage and casual stay of English at Florence, many families and individuals have become more or less fixtures there on account of health or economy. Colonel Atcock and his family, Mr. and Mrs. Irby, Lady Don, Lady Popham, and others had been residents there some years, inhabiting parts of villas and palaces. They in general expressed themselves pleased with the place and its resources in society and occupation. I could not, indeed, learn that they associated much with the Italians, or that any of these had opened their houses to them. Prince Corsini gave a *fête* about once a year, or perhaps not so often—and this on a magnificent scale. There were also parties, and occasionally balls given by the Grand Duke, to which the English whose names were given in by the British Minister were admitted, but the Court was stated to be dull. The Grand Duke and Duchess were absent when we arrived, but returned and gave a ball at the Cascine. Indisposition prevented us from going to it, but we saw their Imperial Highnesses in the walk at the Cascine. He appeared shy and awkward, but bowed civilly. The Cascine continue to be, as heretofore, the great resort for pedestrians and horsemen,

¹ St. Andrea Corsini, born 1302. He was Bishop of Fiesole. Canonized by Urban VIII. in 1629.

and for the display of carriages of every description. The Italians seem to go to greater expense in this outward show than in the interior arrangements of comfort of their houses. The scenery surrounding the Cascine is beautiful. The plantations have been much extended, and are well stocked with pheasants, and the whole has been much improved.

The Boboli is a beautiful garden, but open to the public on Thursdays and Sundays only.

Other essential additions to Florence, as a residence for English, are a chapel which is well attended, and two physicians, Mr. Harding and Mr. Playfair—both able men. Indeed, I can speak from experience of the ability and kind attention of the former.

There is a good public library and reading-room. I understand the Government of the Grand Duke to be well regulated and popular, and attention has been paid to the establishment of useful public institutions. The country is well cultivated and the peasantry is industrious. I was told, however, that in the higher classes many had been ruined by false speculation, and that the nobility, with few exceptions, were poor, and had resorted to ruinous expedients to keep up their position in society, which, after all, was one of outward show.

Many, for instance, had taken advantage of the arrival of an Englishman who had contracted with the Admiralty for the supply of oak timber to the amount of £1,000,000 sterling, and had cut down and sold large tracts of wood. This had been done without judgment, to the serious injury of their estates. The timber had been floated down the Arno on rafts; others had largely mortgaged their estates; some were engaged indirectly, or even directly, in commercial speculations with insufficient capital.

We passed three nights at Bologna in June on our way Bologna. from Florence to Milan, and did not delay calling on the Maescotti, who received us most cordially. Lady Sophia, from being very thin and slight, had become fat, and her good-humoured countenance and manner put me in mind of the Duchess of Gloucester. . . .

The Marchese Sampieri¹ having died much in debt, his son had sold his collection of pictures, the finest (the St. Peter and St. Paul by Guido, the Abraham and Hagar by Guercino, three by the three brothers Carracci, and the Albani) being purchased for the gallery at Milan, where I saw them on the 11th of June.

I went to the Sampieri Palace, which was let to a merchant and picture dealer. The gallery was filled with priced

¹ The owner of the Palazzo Sampieri, where the Taylor family had passed eight months in 1789-90. (See Reminiscences.)

pictures, generally indifferent. The frescoes on the ceiling by the three Carracci and Guercino alone remained of the former treasures.

The
exten-
sive sale
of "Old
Masters."

Others had sold or were selling their pictures; the Marescalchi collection was gone, all but the fine Guercino for which Lord Abercorn had been in treaty, as he had for some of the Zambeccari collection, now the best private one in Bologna. Other families, such as Caprara, had become extinct, and their palaces sold and property disposed of. The Papal Government had endeavoured to prevent the sale of the paintings, but the nobles pleaded that they wanted money, and had a right to dispose of them as well as other property; the Government might buy the pictures if they pleased. Upon this the Government gave way. I learnt that although many of the higher nobility were distressed, the means of the majority of the second order had been improved, chiefly by the suppression of convents and monasteries effected by Buonaparte, and the consequent spread and more equal distribution of property. Many had also become parties to commercial speculations.

The Corso, to which we went in the evening with the Marescotti, offered proof in the number and quality of equipages (as did the appearance of the shops and the dress of the inhabitants) of more general wealth and ease. But within the palaces and houses there was the same want of cleanliness and comfort, and of respectable attendance, and I understood that the state of society was little improved. No public assemblies, except a few balls during carnival; no private circles—the opera, play-houses, and coffee-houses the only resource.

In the villas, where some passed the summer months, the same want of social intercourse; and no pursuits, such as prevail in England and even in some parts of France.

Buona-
parte's
rule.

It was admitted that, although Buonaparte's rule had been hard and exacting, he had done much for the improvement of the country, the roads, public buildings, and internal police. He had indeed carried off the best pictures and other objects of art, but those taken from public buildings had been restored, thanks to the Duke of Wellington, with the exception of such as had been taken by the French Generals or deposited in churches in Paris, and which had thus escaped observation. Bologna had thus lost twenty-two of its finest pictures. The French Generals had lived at free quarters, and scrupled not to appropriate to themselves that which they fancied.

The conduct of the French troops in the *first* invasion was much complained of. On later occasions it was better, the Italian states being *then* considered part of the French Empire, and I observed that many adverted with pride to that period as one of glory which *Italy shared*.

The Pope's Government does not appear popular, and is generally characterized as deficient in almost every quality that marks a wise and provident administration. The financial department, above all, is sadly mismanaged. The Pope's weakness and *insouciance*, and the venality of those in office, produce a waste which entails heavy taxation and great misery in the lower orders. The police also is sadly defective, and property and the high-roads have become very insecure; but this is chiefly the case in the Romagna, and the other States immediately Roman.

At Bologna and Ferrara the Austrian and military occupation imposes some check, and the Bolognese still preserve much of the independent spirit which they had at all times shown. This indeed appears to have produced the protracted stay of the Austrian troops. The garrison includes a Swiss regiment paid by the Pope, but little cordiality prevails between them and the Austrians. The police, Custom House Guards, and *Maréchaussées* are Papal.

The Bolognese had successfully resisted the re-establishment of the Inquisition, and that of several convents, but there appeared to be no neglect of religious worship, and the churches were well filled.

In the town and on the road beggars abound, but in the fields there is a great appearance of industry.

I must not omit mentioning the Campo Santo at Bologna, a cemetery outside the town, of which the foundation was laid by Buonaparte. It is upon an extensive and magnificent scale, and perhaps too much of the latter for the character of the thing, but the expense is defrayed from the revenue of a suppressed convent, and chiefly by the individuals and families who purchase vaults and pay largely for the ornamental parts and monuments, to which a widely retrospective scope is given. Since its establishment no bodies are buried in churches or within the town. Buonaparte appears to have introduced the same regulation in other towns, and none can be more wise and salutary. Indeed, although he took much from Italy and other countries, they are indebted to him for the introduction of many most important and useful improvements, and those who have succeeded are in some measure *obliged* to prosecute and complete the works commenced by him. Their progress is more slow because they dare not, as he did, appropriate and dispose of resources not their own, or raised by extraordinary process. . . .

I have noticed the improvement in the dress of the Bolognese, and the remark may apply to other parts of Italy, but, on the other hand, nothing can exceed the extravagance to which the fashion (introduced in France) is carried in allowing

the beard to grow to more or less length in every sort of figure and shape. In many the appearance is really hideous, and even where the features and countenance are such as hardly any costume can distort, a long beard with the modern dress (a frock and pantaloons) looks very ridiculous. The Italians exceed even the French in the extravagant adoption of this absurd fashion.

German travellers add to it, however, long flowing locks, by which they may generally be distinguished. Even our own countrymen give in to it; very few (civilians) are without moustaches, and many sport the beard of various form and dimension.

In the habitations of the peasantry I noticed considerable improvement, and an appearance of neatness and cleanliness in them and in the streets, not, indeed, to be compared to England, but affording a pleasing contrast to the dirt of France. Generally speaking, however, the French are more civil and appear more cheerful than the Italian, but there is a degree of familiarity and impudence combined with *French civility* which is not observable in Italy.

The charges in the inns and on the roads are more moderate in Italy than in France, although the accommodation and the food are far better, and the propensity to impose on strangers in shops, etc., is not carried to the same extent. Indeed, so far as we have gone, the Italians appear the more honest and fair-dealing of the two, although in both countries the English are considered, as they ever have been, fair objects of plunder.

June 4th.—We passed through Modena and stayed a night. Nothing can exceed the dulness of the town. The Ducal Palace is improved and tolerably fitted up. Some good pictures have been added to the collection. The garden is fine and is well kept up, and there are extensive stables. I was told that the garrison consisted of nearly 4000 men—the whole military establishment of the Duchy being 16,000—excessive for its extent and absurd. The country bears the appearance of comfort and prosperity—but the Duke is unpopular. We met the Duke and family on their return from Reggio, where they had been passing a fortnight. Our carriage drew up, and he bowed civilly as he passed.

June 5th-7th.—We came by Parma and Piacenza, which I had not before seen—fine towns—and as far as I could learn, satisfied with the rule of Marie Louise, who is a liberal patroness of arts and science; but the population is very inadequate to the extent of these towns. Palaces are uninhabited or have become storehouses and manufacturies. Whole streets are

empty, and there were not any fine shops, nor the appearance of much trade. The country is well cultivated.

I cannot help here noticing that Piacenza, as well as Florence, offer contradictions to a recent assertion of Mr. Croker (with reference to the monument proposed to be erected to the Duke of Wellington) that there are not any equestrian statues in Europe other than of Royal personages. There are two Colossi at Piacenza of Alexander Farnese and another Farnese, and there are two or three at Florence of the Medici family.¹

We passed a week at Milan (June 8th–14th). Milan appears to have greatly improved since 1792; and for the completion of the Duomo, which has been admirably executed, and for other great works it is indebted to the fostering hand of Buonaparte. They were commenced and partly executed by him and by Eugène Beauharnais, although finished by the Austrian Government—such as the Arena—the handsome gates—the triumphal arch of which the emblems and historical ornaments have been changed, Austrian victories and triumphs having been substituted for French.

The public garden has been thrown open and greatly beautified. The gallery of paintings at the Brera has been increased by the purchase of the finest works from the Sampieri Palace at Bologna (which I recognized with great interest) and many others; while the academy established in the same building (formerly a Convent of Jesuits) has been placed on a magnificent footing. The Campi Santi and other useful institutions may be traced to the same source, and the roads and canals are much improved. . . .

The Brera
Gallery.

I was grieved to witness the sad decay of Leonardo da Vinci's *Cena*, many portions of which are nearly obliterated. The mischief is ascribed chiefly to the building (a conventual refectory) which contains it, having been converted by the French on the first occupation of Milan into a stable for their cavalry or artillery.

Milan is clean. The police appear good. The shops are numerous and of tolerable appearance, and the people are well dressed. The Sunday Corso was very thronged. I was told that sometimes six hundred carriages might be counted. . . .

General Count Walmoden, who commanded the garrison and with whom I am well acquainted, was at that time unfortunately absent. When, however, we returned to Milan in October my brother Brook, General Upton, and I dined with him, meeting Major-General d'Aspre and some other officers. Lord Stuart de Rothsay was also of the party. Count Walmoden told me the garrison did not exceed 9000 of all arms, and the Austrian

¹ Perhaps, however, Mr. Croker connected these families with royalty.

force in Italy had been reduced to a little more than 30,000, but the regiments forming it are complete and effective.

Major-General d'Aspre, by the by, told me a curious story he had had from his late uncle the General—that upon one occasion a Highland battalion had been placed under his orders in Flanders. They had tired of using the firelock, had thrown them away, and drawn their swords. I would not contradict him, but I could have told him that none of our infantry, Scotch or English, at that period wore swords.

On one occasion we went to the exercise of a part of the garrison in the Champs de Mars—saw two Hungarian battalions and about 400 Hussars, and were very much pleased with their appearance and movements. There was also the Italian regiment of Albrecht. I never saw troops move better, or more steady under arms. Everything they did was very simple, but executed quietly and correctly. The dressings were ready and perfect, and the intervals well preserved. No markers thrown out. I was, however, struck with the want of activity in the artillery—horses and foot—slow at linking and unlimbering, and in formature.

The inhabitants agree in describing their conduct as quiet and orderly.

We went to the Scala one evening. The opera was one of Rossini's—singing moderate—ballet worse—dresses and scenery good.

Cadenabbia.

Left Milan on the 14th June for Como, and went thence on the 17th to Cadenabbia, where we passed the summer months, during which we witnessed the reception of the Emperor Ferdinand at Bellagio and Como on the 24th and 25th of August, and the illuminations, etc., of which the effect on the beautiful lake was very brilliant and striking.

Prince Metternich.

We saw the Emperor and Empress at the Villa Somariva on the 25th, and his factotum Prince Metternich on the 29th. I was introduced to the latter by my brother Brook.

We stayed at Cadenabbia until the 4th of October.

Taylor did not continue his notes beyond this point. As the season advanced visitors to the lake increased daily. Among them various English friends and acquaintances took up their abode at the Cadenabbia hotel. Sir Brook Taylor joined the party on August 18th, and the two brothers were usually out the greater part of the mornings, walking or sketching or making excursions together by land or by water.

CHAPTER XXIX

1838-1839

Sir H. Taylor's Pamphlet—Journey to Rome—Serious Illness—Letter from Lady Skelmersdale—The Last Days—Remarks—Letter from James Hudson to his sister Charlotte.

THE summer at Cadenabbia was not destined to pass away before Taylor had his attention sharply recalled to bygone days.

Lord Brougham had in a recent number of the *Edinburgh Review*, attacked the characters of King George III., Queen Charlotte, and King George IV. in a fashion which Sir H. Taylor from his intimate knowledge of these sovereigns considered to be biassed and unfair. Indeed many of Lord Brougham's statements he knew to be founded rather on popular imagination than on fact.

He could not pass by the *Edinburgh Review* article in silence; and it was during his stay at Cadenabbia that he prepared a note on the subject. It was published in the form of a pamphlet, and was dated August 1st 1838.

Much has been written since then on the characters of George III. and George IV.; and since the mid-Victorian days when Thackeray produced his fanciful dissertation on *The Four Georges*, a keener criticism, a greater knowledge and a fairer outlook has been accepted in the treatment of these monarchs, more especially in the case of George III.

I do not, therefore, propose to enlarge upon the points of difference between Lord Brougham and Sir Herbert Taylor. There was no doubt a marked dissimilarity of temperament and political feeling between the two men. I will merely quote a few passages from the pamphlet.

Thus, after criticizing Lord Bougham's assertion that King George III.'s understanding was narrow, his mind contracted without power of discrimination, and that he was the slave of deep-rooted selfishness, Sir Herbert continues:—

"I confess I do not understand what is meant by the remark ^{George III.} that 'no feeling of a kindly nature was ever suffered to cross his mind whenever his power was concerned.' I apprehend that the man who holds light, or hastily surrenders, the power which

he justly possesses, proves himself thereby unfit to wield it; and sinks into merited contempt.

“The Article proceeds to say that ‘in other respects King George III. was a man of amiable disposition, and few Princes have been more exemplary in their domestic habits or in the offices of private friendship’; but apprehensive, it would seem, that this may prove too great a concession, and may make too favourable an impression, the author states in the next sentence that ‘the instant his prerogative was concerned, or his bigotry interfered with, or his will thwarted, the most unbending pride, the most bitter animosity, the most calculating coldness of heart, and the most unforgiving resentment took possession of his whole breast, and swayed it by turns; that the habits of friendship, the ties of blood, the dictates of conscience, the rules of honesty, were alike forgotten, and the fury of the tyrant, with the resources of a cunning which mental alienation is supposed to whet, was ready to circumvent or destroy all who interposed an obstacle to the fierceness of unbridled desire.’

“I defy the power of language to draw in terms more bitter and more venomous a more odious character of any man, be he Sovereign or a private individual, and I question whether the pages of history which describe the worst parts of the characters of Louis XI. of France or of Philip II. of Spain would offer a parallel.

“Had not the writer of the Article introduced the words, ‘his will thwarted,’ he might seek to plead that he meant this odious trait of character to have been manifested *only* ‘where prerogative was concerned’ and ‘bigotry interfered with.’ But he has added, ‘or his will thwarted,’—and that, in fact, embraces *everything*.

“I apprehend the word ‘prerogative,’ if it mean anything, to be descriptive of the power and the privileges given to the Sovereign by the Constitution; and I admit that King George III. did consider it his duty to uphold these; and I venture to say that the firmness he displayed in the maintenance of them was praiseworthy in as much as it rested on principle.

“This remark applies equally to what is called bigotry, which was in fact a conscientious desire to uphold the Protestant religion, as by law established, and which His Majesty had sworn to maintain. His motives were pure, his intentions were honest, his conviction was sincere and firm. He may have erred in judgment, but we have yet to learn that in the course pursued on this and other points he laid himself open to the charge of harbouring or acting upon any one of the degrading feelings which according to the writer of the Article ‘took possession of his whole breast and swayed it by turns.’

“One would imagine that the writer in his reference to the American War and to the Irish people was animadverting upon

the conduct of an absolute Monarch and not upon that of a Sovereign whose power is circumscribed by a free Constitution, and who is one of three Estates acting by and with the advice of the other two.

“The Government for the time being were the constitutional advisers of the Crown, and responsible for the advice they gave.

“Those who have been Ministers of the Cabinet have been placed in a position which enabled them to judge of the relative power and resources of the Sovereign and of the Government—of the nature and extent of the will which the former may exercise on questions of State and of domestic and foreign policy—of the value of the checks which may be imposed by either on the judgment and the resolution of the other.

“. . . King George III. might or might not have approved the principle on which the contest with America was prosecuted, and the measures pursued; but both would necessarily result from the advice tendered by his confidential servants, and it is not fair now to throw upon him the blame of the errors which may have been committed.

“These remarks apply generally to the course pursued with regard to Ireland. Right or wrong it was recommended by successive Governments, and these must be allowed to have at least shared the responsibility of its results.

“I have greater difficulty in approaching that part of the publication which concerns the character and conduct of his late Majesty King George IV., as it is so much interwoven with subjects to the revival of which I am unwilling to become a party. Yet with all deference to the writer I would humbly and earnestly entreat the public to receive with caution the expression of his sentiments and feelings with respect to a Sovereign towards whom he had entertained great hostility, and harboured soreness and irritation produced by His Majesty's asserted apostacy from the party with which he, as Prince, had been politically connected previously to his becoming Regent—as well as by his (the writer's) attachment to the opposite cause of Queen Caroline which he embraces and advocates with so much zeal and warmth.¹

“I am warranted from personal observation and intercourse in after-life in subscribing to the remark that George IV.'s natural temper was neither sour nor revengeful; that his abilities were far, very far, above mediocrity; that he was quick, lively, and gifted with a retentive memory and ready wit, and that he possessed a natural taste for music and the arts, which was improved to a power of discrimination which

¹ Brougham had been Queen Caroline's legal Advocate.

few surpassed ; add to this, the advantage of person and grace of manner which all acknowledged.

“These are natural qualities of which the writer would seem to concede the possession in order to add to the deformity which he appends to the conduct of a Prince so gifted, and to deprive it of any palliative.

“He produces the beautiful flower, but hastens to divest it of every claim to admiration, and dwells on the contrast which its shorn and mangled stem offers.

“No one who was in the habit of approaching King George IV. will agree with the writer of the Article that he was a man of uncultivated mind or that his knowledge was so superficial as therein stated. . . .

“Nor can anybody deny King George IV.’s inclination to dissipation and extravagant expenditure ; but the writer of the Article has so handled the subject as to convey an impression that the public had been called upon to discharge above half a million of debt contracted by the Sovereign, and that the call was repeated.

“I believe I am correct in stating that the public was not called upon to discharge any debts contracted by George IV. after his accession ; that the Civil List issues for the Household departments had not been exceeded ; and that upon His Majesty’s demise a surplus of £50,000 which had accrued to his Privy Purse expenditure was paid by his executors into the Privy Purse of his successor.

“It is true that he had changed his friends, and discarded some of those who had enjoyed his favour ; but the fault might be on their side as much as on his.

“I am confident that King George IV. who is especially accused of encouraging flattery, and of claiming from those who surrounded him abject submission to his will and views, would have esteemed and confided in his servant in proportion as he found him honest and sincere, and fearless of speaking truth, provided always His Majesty was satisfied that the service of the individual was free from selfish views and that his conduct was influenced by a sense of duty and devotion to his interests, and by a solicitude for his honour and credit.¹

“It is almost superfluous to say that no one would consider

¹ Sir H. Taylor’s official positions enabled him to take a commanding range of view in regard to the character of George IV. Few men could have had greater opportunities of judging its nature.

But he also knew that—in addition to the very just and severe criticisms passed on this Monarch’s wayward and self-indulgent conduct in some periods of his career—many careless or prejudiced aspersions had been allowed to circulate freely in every rank of society.

Lord Brougham was certainly one of the most impetuous and distinguished of controversialists in his day ; but his actual connection in the life of George IV. was mainly concerned in having come forward as the legal adviser and ardent defender of the unfortunate Queen Caroline.

it necessary at Court, any more than he would in the ordinary walks of society, to say all he thinks; but there can be no occasion for his saying there, any more than elsewhere, what he does not think.

“Finally it is due to the Royal personages whose names are introduced in these pages to state, without the fear of contradiction, that there are those who can declare that while employed by them confidentially or otherwise, they never felt that they could be expected to disguise the truth, or to join in the censure or condemnation of any one who was entitled to their good opinion and support; and that they never were called upon, or felt that they could be called upon, to do any act from which, as men of honour and gentlemen, they would shrink. . . .

“H. TAYLOR.”

A little later Lord Brougham again made use of the pages of the *Edinburgh Review* in a reply to the pamphlet. He prefaces his remarks with a very generous tribute to the character of his opponent in these words:—

“We must begin by admitting to a certain extent the truth of an observation which closes his tract, that the person who holds an office at Court, or the confidential servant of a King or Prince, is not necessarily, as the common opinion goes, a sycophant and habitually a flatterer. If any proof were wanting that the general impression on this point is far too sweeping, it would be only necessary to name Sir Herbert Taylor, who for above thirty years held the most important and confidential situation about Court that any subject could fill, and whose nature is as utterly incapable of sycophancy as it is of dishonour—as far above deceiving a master as above maltreating an inferior; and one whom no Prince would ever have seen again near his person, had he dared propose to him the performance of any degrading office. . . .

“We must repeat that we firmly believe that the whole course of Sir Herbert Taylor's exercise of such a delicate office (and such an important one as never before fell into the hands of any courtier), was throughout marked by the most unsullied honour towards all parties with whom he came in contact—whether Monarchs, or their families, or their Ministers, or private individuals. Nor have we any doubt whatever that upon all occasions his best advice was offered according to the dictates of a scrupulous conscience and a judgment hardly to be surpassed in clearness and calmness. It is very inferior praise to add that in the exercise of a most difficult and laborious duty he was one of the ablest, indeed the most masterly, men of business who ever filled any public employment.

“In stating these things we give the result of testimony, uniform and concurrent, borne to the merits of this distinguished individual by all parties with whom he was ever brought into contact. . . .” (*Edinburgh Review*, October, 1838.)

In the meanwhile Sir Herbert had, for a time, continued to improve in health and strength.

With the intention of wintering in Rome the whole party left Cadenabbia on October 4th, and many were the people assembled at the hotel to have a last look and a shake of the hand from “quel buon Generale.” After a short visit to Lugano and Baveno they arrived at Milan on October 7th.

Milan.
Oct. 7th—
Nov. 13th.

Here the illness of their little daughter, Chaddy, necessitated a much longer stay than they had intended. Sir Herbert too began to feel the change of the weather in a manner so extremely unusual for him that his wife became anxious to leave Milan, thinking that perhaps the air did not agree.

At last, on November 13th, to their great joy they were allowed to continue their travels.

Sir Herbert carried his daughter—still an invalid—from her room, wrapt in a blanket, and placed her in the bed-carriage. Her mother travelled with her. Sir Herbert with his brother in the britzka, and Louisa Disbrowe in Sir Brook’s carriage, went on in front to prepare for their arrival at the inns.

They slept at Piacenza that night, at Reggio on the 14th, and Bologna on the 15th. The following evening they were high up in the mountains, and reached Pietra Marla in a thick fog, having been drawn a great part of the distance by bullocks.

On the 17th they were once more established at the Gran Bretagna on the Lung’ Arno in Florence.

Here they remained for three weeks, and there seems to have been various indications that Sir Herbert’s health was far from satisfactory, and that the natural vigour of his constitution was breaking up. Nevertheless he seemed in excellent spirits, went twice to the opera, drove out to Lady Don’s Villa, and paid several other visits.

“On the 10th December,” wrote Lady Taylor, “we were allowed to start for Rome. Sir Herbert’s leg was healed. Chaddy was much improved in health, but was still unable to walk much; and, as before, he would carry her himself up and down stairs although it seemed a much greater exertion than formerly; and his breath was very short.

“During the journey he seemed to have lost much of his natural energy, and did not appear nearly so anxious to see objects worthy of notice. Still he did not complain.

“We arrived at Rome on the 14th; Sir Herbert, who had

looked forward with so much pleasure and impatience to that day, appeared absolutely indifferent as we approached towards the end of our journey. When the carriages were stopped by the courier on the spot whence one can first see Rome, Chaddy was in such ecstasy I had great difficulty in keeping her quiet.

"She and her dear father had so often talked of this joyful day that I was rather surprised he resisted getting out of the britzka to participate in her pleasure. He has since owned to me that he felt so ill that he did not care for anything. . . ."

On the 18th Sir Herbert agreed to Lady Taylor's desire that Mr. Gloag should be sent for, and from that date he was continually in the hands of the doctors till the day of his death. Examinations had shown that the blood was in a high state of inflammation, and that there was lung trouble.

Their apartments were at Melloni's hotel in the Piazza del Popolo until February 1st, when, acting under medical advice, they removed to rooms in the Piazza di Spagna, where the position was far sunnier.

The doctors had been seriously anxious as to the condition of their patient, but about this time he rallied very considerably, and on February 3rd thanks were returned in the English chapel for his recovery.

Feb. 3rd,
1839.

LADY SKELMERSDALE to SIR H. TAYLOR.

Latham House. February 15th, 1839.

MY DEAR HERBERT,

I had, lying before me, two kind long and very interesting letters, one from Brook and one from Charlotte, and I was deliberating which to answer first when there arrived a third—a very unexpected one—written in pencil and dated January 31st, and that from you, my very dear brother, from whom I not very long ago had the misery to apprehend that I should never again receive another letter. God be praised for having spared you to our prayers. Him must we thank for having brought you under the care of very great medical skill (as appears to me at least in a case so complicated) and having given your dear excellent wife health and strength of body and mind to nurse you, as she was providentially enabled to do.

You have been reduced to a state of debility that will probably take a much longer time than you anticipate, to shake off entirely; but much will depend on your own resolution to obey medical and nurse's orders.

You are not to try your strength beyond its power; and you must keep constantly in mind that you are yourself no judge of your own powers. *You have proved that*, my dear Herbert, in resisting for so long a time the influence that malady was working on your frame. You meant it all most

kindly, but the exertion had nearly cost us all more than I can now calmly think of.

A thousand times do I thank you for the many affectionate expressions in your letter as regards myself. I trust it is not too great presumption to hope that we may meet again in this world; but we are all in God's hands, and His will be done. . . .

The next account of you will I hope tell that you are settled in your new apartments. . . . When you can employ yourself more with books and with drawing I should think those occupations will be a better pastime than too much writing, for it cannot be wholesome to you to be carried back to times that have caused so much mischief in your dangerous illness. Had you not been blessed with a strong constitution you could not have weathered such a struggle. . . .

. . . I shall leave to others to tell you news of politics. There are changes in the Cabinet, but the general colouring is the same.

And now I bid you adieu for the present, my dearest Herbert. Remember me particularly to my little goddaughter. I am glad she takes lessons of Mr. Lear.¹

God bless you, my dearest brother,

Believe me yours most affectionately,

M. E. S.

Amongst the visitors at Rome during this season were several old friends from England. Of these none were more welcomed than General Upton and Sir Harry Verney.²

It must have been with a genuine sense of pleasure that Sir Herbert Taylor found himself privileged to enjoy the companionship of these two comrades, so near at hand during his distracting illness and *supposed* convalescence. From what Lady Taylor has narrated it was evidently a relief to his feelings to have this opportunity of recalling many a vivid scene and episode of the past days, and of experiencing once more a sense of touch with the country of his birth.

During the month of February he was able to ride occasionally in the Borghese Gardens; and he also took up his violoncello again, appearing to play nearly as well as ever.

He would generally wake early in the morning and ask for a book or writing materials in bed. Amongst other occupations he began writing an outline history of Mediæval Italy for his

¹ Edward Lear, the painter of many quaint birds and brilliant landscapes; known to the public in after years as the author of "The Book of Nonsense," which was originally designed for the amusement of Lord Stanley's children.

² Sir Harry Verney had at one time acted as Taylor's private secretary at the Horse Guards. His father, Sir Harry Calvert, had been an intimate and life-long friend.

daughter. But all the while he was obliged to lead the life of a complete invalid, and towards the end of the month it became evident that he was losing ground.

On the 1st of March Mr. Wood—at that time private chaplain to the Queen Dowager—also arrived in Rome. He was a friend of long standing, and his constant visits and his kindness were always a great pleasure. After the 5th of March Taylor was never again able to leave his bed. On the 9th, by the advice of Mr. Gloag, he was made definitely aware of his serious condition.

That morning he arranged his papers.

A week later he sent for Mr. Wood, and after some conversation determined to receive the Sacrament. He desired that all his family and the servants might be present to receive it with him. Especially was he anxious about Ford, the courier; Lady Kilmaine was also present. Afterwards he shook hands with the servants and thanked them for their attention to him during his illness. He said he did not wish to die, for he felt he had everything to make him happy, but that he had made his peace with his Redeemer, and was prepared. He spoke with great firmness, and seemed perfectly resigned.

There were only a few more days. Mr. Gloag was unwearied in his attention, coming in and out constantly, and sometimes sleeping in the house. He was much struck with his patient's character, and said that he had never attended any one in whom he felt the same interest, that there was such a charm about him, it was impossible to know him without admiring and loving him.

About 10 o'clock on the night of the 20th of March, while Mr. Wood was reading a prayer at the foot of the bed, Taylor was seen to join his hands and move his lips. An hour later, just as the clock was striking 11, he quietly breathed his last.¹

A strong personality had passed away; and the fragments of his record show that he possessed a remarkably alert and sympathetic nature.

Looking back, it is interesting to note how all through his life the civil and the military service were continually interwoven.

In all his avocations, whether in the Camp, at Court, at the Horse Guards, or in his intercourse with the King's Ministers, one leading feature stands out—namely, the confidence that was always placed in his integrity, his clear judgment, and his good

¹ The body was embalmed, and temporarily placed in the English burying-ground at Rome. Not long afterwards it was removed to Civita Vecchia and conveyed by ship to London. The final ceremony took place on the 13th of June in the Chapel of St. Katharine in Regent's Park.

feeling. It was natural, therefore, that his influence at Court and elsewhere remained conspicuous and lasting.

Referring to his work with King William, some one remarked in the Editorial Column of the *United Service Journal* shortly after his death that:—

“So kind was his heart, and so courteous and considerate his manner, as to conciliate even those who were disappointed in the objects of their communications with him; nor were the patience and suavity which he managed to preserve, through the irritating routine of his arduous duties, less remarkable than the zeal and application with which he fulfilled them.”

I will close with a letter. James Hudson had for the last seven years served under Sir H. Taylor.

He was a young man of great enthusiasms, as will be seen. His letter was written while secretary to the Legation at Washington. In after years (1851) he was appointed British Minister at Turin, and soon became a noted figure on account of the intensity of his convictions in the cause of Italy in her struggles for unity and independence. Indeed it was said that Sir James Hudson had disobeyed the instructions of two successive British Governments,¹ and acted according to the wishes of the people of England.

Nevertheless he retained his place at Turin for twelve years and was happy in seeing his fondest hopes, and those of the Italian people, nobly realized.

I give the following extracts from his letter, fully recognizing the ardent nature of the writer, and the deep sincerity of his feelings towards the subject of these memoirs:—

JAMES HUDSON to his sister CHARLOTTE.

Washington. May 10th, 1839.

MY DEAREST CHARLOTTE,

By the time this reaches you, you will, I trust, have had a safe and pleasant passage home. I rejoice at it as we shall be so much the nearer. . . .

Alas! that your voyage should have been rendered melancholy by learning from Wood the sad, sad intelligence of the death of our best and kindest friend. It is indeed a grievous blow, and one of those dispensations of Providence to which all in turn must submit.

How little did I anticipate, when I last helped him to pack up at St. Katharine's, that he was then setting out upon that journey which we all must travel! How little did I think that I pressed his hand for the last time!

I remember perfectly well jumping over the railings in the

¹ The *Times* newspaper.

Regent's Park, and running like lightning after the carriage with something Chaddy had forgotten. I remember his last look—the last good-bye—the last fervent grasp of the hand—the last wave of farewell, as the carriage, freighted with so much happiness, turned a bend in the park that hid them from my sight. I remember watching with so much earnestness for another glimpse, though I knew it was impossible—and then the hopes and fears—the hope of meeting in Italy, and the dread of being sent to some far-off unhospitable station.

And how have my hopes been realized? He has returned to St. Katharine's—his home—to be buried! For ought I know some one has already planned alterations in a house where every arrangement in my eyes was as sacred as if it were devoted ten times over to the Almighty God.

He was indeed a man, and the noblest work of God. . . . The gallant and needy brother officer, the repentant sinner, the vicious and necessitous were alike objects to him of equal care, and his reproof was as valuable as his bounty. . . . He knew how to combine advice with assistance, and thought no object however needy, however lost, beneath his care. Of his talents let his works speak for themselves. They were as various as they were brilliant, and were never exerted but in the everlasting cause of truth, of justice, and of patriotism.

To whom is mainly due the brilliancy of the last reign? If William IV., with all his honest virtues upon his head, has been gathered to his fathers with honour and with the character of a patriot King, and has obtained the blessings of a great nation, to whom is due the manly vigour of many or most of the Acts of his reign?

Those Acts which have stamped his time with the indelible marks of the approbation of his people were owing to him who now with his Royal Master rests in the tomb. . . .

Such was my master. He was my friend, my companion; disparity of years made no difference. With him conversation never could be vicious. Nothing ever fell from his lips behind the back of any living being that might not be repeated before their face.

I have reason to be thankful to God that seven years of my life were spent in the service of so great, so glorious a being—a man whose greatest merit was that, with unlimited power at his command, he ever used it with the most honest endeavours, not to serve himself, but his country, his Sovereign, and his friends. His equal does not—cannot—exist.

No man more than I do knows the tremendous exertions he used in his public life. His toil was incessant, wearying, thankless; and after exertions unparalleled either for talent, for perseverance, or for delicacy (though perfectly unknown to common fame and therefore unappreciated), this great and

noble-minded man was treated by a herd of despicable drivellers with a contempt as characteristic of their dull tribe as the mark set upon the children of Israel. They were incapable of appreciating honesty; but history will speak when knaves lie howling, and the still small voice of time will, while it honours one man for a prescience and sagacity in affairs of State, irretrievably damn a set of men who could sell or sacrifice their souls, their country, or themselves upon the altar they have raised to selfishness.

Such is the world! . . . I have long ceased to consider it as a prize worth risking one's soul for. With the example I have had before me I hope so to fight my way through it.

We have been as a family—and are—sincerely attached to one another; and I believe there is no sacrifice one of us would not make for another, or all for one. That we may each so live an independent and upright life is my fervent hope and sincere belief. And may we all leave it with characters as bright, and conduct as honest as my first, my firmest, and my truest friend, Sir Herbert Taylor. His name will ever be sacred to me.

God bless you. Your most loving brother,

JEMMY.



THE ROYAL COLLEGIATE CHAPEL AND HOSPITAL OF ST. KATHARINE, REGENT'S PARK.

1829.

OFFICIAL RECORD OF
LIEUT.-GENERAL SIR HERBERT TAYLOR.

(Born at Bifrons, September 29th, 1775.)

| | | |
|--------------|--|---|
| 1792. | | Clerk in the Foreign Office (occasionally acting as Secretary to Lord Grenville). |
| Dec., 1792. | | Secretary to Sir James Murray at Frankfort and in the Netherlands until the close of the 1793 Campaign. |
| March, 1794. | Cornet in 2nd Dragoon Guards. | |
| May, 1794. | Lieutenant in 2nd Dragoon Guards. | Successively Assistant Secretary to the Duke of York, Lord Harcourt, and Sir D. Dundas until close of campaign, September, 1795. |
| May, 1795. | Captain in 2nd Dragoon Guards. | A.D.C. and Assistant Secretary to Duke of York at the Horse Guards. |
| Sept., 1795. | | Military Secretary, Private Secretary, and A.D.C. to Lord Cornwallis in Ireland till February, 1799. |
| July, 1798. | | Private Secretary to the Duke of York, and successively A.D.C. to the Duke and to Sir James Pulteney, in Holland, until its final evacuation. |
| Feb., 1799. | | Private Secretary and A.D.C. to Duke of York. |
| 1800-05. | | Private Secretary and A.D.C. to Duke of York. |
| 1801. | Major in 2nd Dragoon Guards. | |
| Nov., 1801. | Lieut.-Colonel in 9th West India regiment. | |
| 1802. | Exchanged into Coldstream Guards. | |
| 1805. | | Private Secretary to King George III. |
| 1810. | Colonel by brevet. | |
| 1812-18. | | Private Secretary to Queen Charlotte, under the Windsor Establishment. Also appointed one of the Trustees of His Majesty's Personal Estate. |
| 1813. | Major-General. | |
| 1813-14. | | By permission of the Queen, was attached to the British Expedition in the Netherlands, where he commanded a Brigade under Sir Thomas Graham. |

1815. Offered a Brigade of the Guards by the Duke of Wellington (Waterloo Campaign). The Duke of York, however, recalled his consent on account of the Queen's illness.
1818. Appointed Treasurer to the Queen. Executor of Queen Charlotte's Will. Appointed Master of St. Katharine's Hospital by the Prince Regent.
1819. (Knight Commander of the Guelphic Order.)
1820. Executor of King George III.'s Will. Member for Windsor till 1823. Military Secretary to the Duke of York till 1827.
1823. Accepted Colonelcy of 85th Regiment.
1825. Lieut.-General.
1826. (Knight Grand Cross of the Guelphic Order.)
1827. Military Secretary to Duke of Wellington, who was Commander-in-Chief till April. Deputy Secretary of State for War, till July. First and Principal A.D.C. to the King.
- Feb., 1828. Surveyor-General of the Ordnance.
- Sept., 1828. Adjutant-General to the Forces.
1830. Private Secretary to William IV., also First and Principal A.D.C. to the King.
1834. (Grand Cross of the Bath.)
1837. Executor of King William IV.'s Will. First and Principal A.D.C. to Queen Victoria.

(Died at Rome, March 20th, 1839.)

ERRATA

Page 319, l. 4, and
,, 321, ll. 1 and 13 from bottom } *for* "Saltown" *read* "Saltoun."

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